

**JPRS 76709**

**28 October 1980**

# **West Europe Report**

**No. 1848**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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28 October 1980

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

No. 1646

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## ARMAMENT PROGRAM FOR 1980, AIR DEFENSE DETAILED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 28-29 Sep 80 p 17

[Article by E.A.K.: "Air Defense for the 1980's"]

[Text] The thundering of aircraft engines, the bursting of bombs, rockets and shells, the rattling of battle tanks and the sharp reports of their guns -- in short, the noise of battle, which presently fills the Schatt al Arab where the Euphrates and Tigris [rivers] come together, is once again inexorably bringing home to everyone just how abruptly so-called peaceful situations can turn into fierce armed confrontations. And this noise of battle gives renewed force to the age-old understanding that the proclamation of peaceful intentions and the submission of proposals in support of peace in no way guarantee immunity from attacks and invasions; rather, the one who is most likely to be left alone is the one who prepares for all eventualities by keeping a club in his kit bag.

With reference to the Swiss scene, this presently means modernizing and strengthening our air defense to the extent that it has a real chance of harassing or dispersing tactical aircraft that penetrate our airspace -- or even of shooting them down in a sufficient number of instances. This capability carries weight and significance not only purely from the technical aspects of war, for the sake of the action itself; it also translates into a psychologically relevant factor in the strategic calculation, chiefly because a high percentage of successful hits in a "neutrality test" could strike a substantial blow to the prestige of a potential aggressor, thus gaining a spectacular deterrent effect. We would consequently do well not to neglect air defense and the air force -- no matter how costly they have become -- and above all not to let them become too obsolete.

From this standpoint, the 1980 Armament Program is pointing in the right direction; the program was submitted by the Federal Council in a message dated 7 May of this year and is to be taken up in the third week of the National Council session. The armament level in the air defense sector is admittedly fairly good when viewed as a whole, even though it must be added that the systems can no longer be considered modern with the

exception of the medium-caliber antiaircraft system, whose combat effectiveness is presently being increased. The decision not to make substantial cuts in the large numbers of 20-mm antiaircraft guns has turned out to be a piece of clever foresight: First of all because even today's pilots like to stay away from these weapons that are difficult to sight; secondly, the system has sharply upgraded our fitness for anti-helicopter warfare. Nevertheless, what is lacking -- and has always been lacking since we first started to build up our armored force -- is an effective means of protecting our armored regiments against low-level attacks, including mobile protection. This lack has been and is now critical, because these armored units with cross-country mobility and strong fire power are designed in the event of incursions and breakthroughs in the infantry's defensive posture to launch counterattacks against the enemy's assault troops, arrest their progress, decimate them and force them to retreat wherever possible. The main thing is to keep the armored units from suffering intolerable losses from air strikes while they are still in staging areas or starting to move out, thus losing their attack momentum even before making contact with the enemy.

To be sure, we have not remained idle in the past 5 years. Between 1975 and 1977, the armored personnel carriers of the armored infantrymen who accompany the battle tanks were fitted with "Swedish turrets" and 20-mm guns from the scrapped Venom aircraft. In other words, the APC's were upgraded to the status of combat APC's which are also capable of protecting themselves against direct attacks by tactical aircraft. Last but not least, these guns should keep gunships and antitank helicopters at a distance. Then next year will see the introduction into the air force of the last of the 72 Tiger tactical aircraft, a light fighter plane able to provide area protection for limited periods at focal points of combat action. However, the small number of available aircraft will make it impossible to intervene in the fighting simultaneously at all critical points and wherever sorties are requested. It is unavoidable that the ground troops would have to depend upon their own means here and there. This is also true of the armored regiments. This gap can be closed at least partially with procurement of the Rapier low-level air defense system, as requested in the 1980 Armament Program.

It is generally acknowledged today that the best antiaircraft protection, particularly at the lower altitudes, consists of a combination of guided missiles and radar-controlled automatic guns. The two systems complement one another in an extremely effective manner. For instance, a prospectus put out by Oerlikon Contraves, one of the few firms which offer mobile, radar-controlled, barreled-weapon systems today, "points out that a battle against a modern aerial enemy can produce convincing results only when antiaircraft barreled-weapons and rockets (missiles) are used in combination." This view is also stressed in the Federal Council's message. At the behest of industry, the federal government decided in 1978 to resume development of a Swiss antiaircraft gun tank (on the chassis of the Swiss Model 68 tank) and authorized credits in the amount of 35 million Swiss

franca for this purpose. The prototype was delivered a year later. Since, however, several difficulties were encountered in the testing process -- particularly with the chassis, which was built for a much lighter turret -- and since a decision to forgo a new Swiss-developed battle tank had created a new situation, a re-examination of this project suggested itself. The intention now is to update the electronic system and use as a chassis the hull of a new battle tank which will presumably be built under license, one which would also be able to support the antiaircraft turret with no problems. In any event, it has become evident that a Swiss antiaircraft gun tank will not reach the procurement stage in the very near future. The immediate procurement of a guided missile system for low-level air defense suggests itself all the more if it can be obtained within a favorable period.

There is no weapons system which can satisfy jointly and severally all military, technical, industrial and financial requirements. Even in weapons technology one cannot avoid compromises, or one must close and bridge gaps and weaknesses in one system by providing a second one that supplements the first. The Rapier guided missile system is also not a panacea, but it is an original -- even ingenious -- solution to a spectrum of important problems, those very problems which are causing us anxiety.

It is no secret that it was not easy for the spokesmen of the tank corps to accept the Rapier system as a mobile antiaircraft system. They would have preferred a (very much more expensive) guided missile system which has the radar, computer and launcher mounted on a single -- armored -- vehicle, like the Roland (a tracked tank) and the Soviet SA 8 (a wheeled tank). In other words, they wanted a weapons system that traveled as a unit. But thorough calculations and experiments have shown that armored units as a rule have to travel only short distances in our country to prepare for and initiate combat, a circumstance which should also apply to pursuit if the situation should arise. The antiaircraft problems thus posed can be solved easily with the simple and flexible British system; the antiaircraft positions involved are identified and reconnoitered in advance. The same is true for the probable access routes. In an emergency the Rapier components can also be flown by helicopter to otherwise inaccessible spots.

It is true that the Rapier gunnery units are not armored. On the other hand, they are inconspicuous, easy to conceal in the terrain and easy to camouflage. By contrast, antiaircraft tanks with rockets or guns are vehicles of unusual shape which any pilot can spot with the naked eye from a distance of some kilometers, and they are also the first targets when an armored unit is attacked. It is true that armor plating protects the crew, the computer, the reserve ammunition and the drive system from artillery fragments and shells fired from light infantry weapons, but the optical instruments, radar antennas, extended missiles and the launchers themselves are exposed to fire here as well.

There is no doubt that the cost of the Rapier system is high. But two comparisons may show that it should not be termed exorbitant. The Armament Services Group has figured the price for 60 gunnery units at 1,200 million Swiss francs; this includes training material and a missile reserve. Now then, at the beginning of this month it was divulged that the United States has ordered from British Aerospace 28 gunnery units and 4 training units of the same system at a cost of more than 200 million pounds; these units are to protect the 7 U.S. airbases in Great Britain. If one figures 4 Swiss francs to the pound, the total amount comes to about 800 million Swiss francs. Compare this to the 60 systems for Switzerland at the purchase price of 1.2 billion Swiss francs. But one can also see how this compares to the cost of our medium-caliber antiaircraft system. We are going to have to spend a total of 724 million Swiss francs just to modernize and increase the combat effectiveness of the system, or just to replace the obsolete Model 63 gunnery control system with the new Skyguard systems -- in other words, for an increase in target accuracy but not in fire power. Incidentally, it deserves to be mentioned that the Americans selected the Rapier system for the protection of their airbases in England even though they had decided, after a thorough evaluation, not to procure it for their own army. The United States Air Force Europe has long-distance F-111 bombers, among others, stationed in Great Britain -- extremely valuable aircraft for which effective protection is certainly desired.

The Military Commission of the National Council has studied the armament program very closely and has also dealt exhaustively with objections that have been presented. It was able to back up this work with a message which explains the problems with remarkable frankness and also points out the large picture into which the project must fit. Thus, we may hope that this air defense bill will be discussed thoroughly in the National Council -- as was the Tiger bill in its time -- but that it will be adopted without significant opposition. Our armored troops are urgently in need of a boost to their morale.

7453

CSO: 3103

## BRIEFS

DANE LEAVES CONSERVATIVE GROUP--Erhard Jacobsen, chairman of the Center Democrats, who is also a member of the Conservative Group within the European Parliament, yesterday stated that he has left the group in order to become an independent. Erhard Jacobsen told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that his decision is not due to political differences but only to a lack of time. "It is not right for me to be a member of the group when, in practice, I cannot participate in its meetings. I have to decide work priority, and not least within the Danish Radio Council am I in a fighting situation, and I cannot be away from there--too much would be ruined if I were. And it goes without saying that I could get the blame for decisions made by the group even if I were not present." [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Sep 80 p 5] 7262!

CSO: 3106

## EMPTY TREASURY IS GOVERNMENT'S STUMBLING BLOCK

Zurich DIE WELTWOCHTE in German 8 Oct 80 p 11

[Article by Hermann Bohle]

[Text] The social security reform has revealed itself as a stumbling block for the Belgian government. King Baudouin has asked Prime Minister Martens, who offered his resignation Saturday, to make a last attempt to save the government coalition.

Brussels--Belgium rebelled, for Wilfried Martens, the Christian Socialist prime minister, wanted the state employees to "sacrifice" 2 percent of their salaries in the future as a reserve fund for their pensions. A general strike of state employees was prevented at the eleventh hour, and in return Martens had to put his plan on ice.

The percentage of state employees among working civilians in Belgium is irresistibly edging up toward the 20 percent figure already reached in Germany; the formation of two independent "regions" (Flanders and Wallonia) effective 1 October leaves no doubt of that. The army of officials has doubled in the last 20 years to 700,000, or 17.5 percent. By way of comparison, even the 12 percent figure for the Swiss canton of Zurich is regarded as exorbitant.

The state was to save 6 billion Belgian francs--nearly 350 million Swiss francs--by the retirement deduction, because the pension fund administration does not know where it can find the money to pay the state pensioners. That applies to all other pension recipients, too, as well as for the 150-year-old kingdom as a whole; the sesquicentennial celebration is taking place in a minor key, in an atmosphere of widespread bankruptcy.

Belgium has the highest per capita state debt in West Europe. Altogether, including the foreign debts, there is a debt of 9,900 Swiss francs for each citizen. The state is short everywhere; since summer the participation of Belgian motorized land, sea, and air forces in NATO maneuvers has even been canceled, because the money for fuel has run out.

The foreign debt alone increased during the first 8 months of 1980 by 82 billion Belgian francs (4.7 billion Swiss francs); it constitutes 10 percent of the total state debt, and had increased "only" 40 billion (2.3 billion Swiss francs) last

year. The foreign trade deficit is increasing. It sounded distinctly idyllic when Mark Tyskens, minister of cooperation for development, said not long ago--and in a speech to economists at the opening of the Louvain trade fair, too--that the Belgians had imported more than they had exported by a cumulative total of 180 billion francs (10.3 billion Swiss francs), which was really tragic... But that the hole in the state economy could be plugged only by "additional currency measures."

The doughty minister said that the gap in the trade balance should not be plugged in the same way; that must be remedied by increased exports. Mark Tyskens reasoned that "without a sound profitability of our firms" that would not be possible. He also indicated the therapy. "Prosperity is not an established right; we must earn it day by day through our efforts."

The catchword "lower standard of living" is going around in Belgium. To be competitive, that is, the Belgian economy must produce more cheaply. After all, the country is one of the high-wage countries of the world. There are countries--Syria and Iraq, say--where Belgian producers can no longer compete with Swiss and German producers, because their products are too expensive.

Prime Minister Wilfried Martens uttered the hard truth: "All classes of the population must tighten their belts so that the country can overcome the economic and social problems of the coming months and years; we have long lived beyond our means." There is no doubt that the demand for maintaining the standard of living that is made by the Belgian trade unions, as it is by the European trade unions united in the ETU [European Trade Union Confederation], is unrealizable, at least in Belgium.

Since the middle of the year Belgium has overtaken the previous taillight of the European Community (EC)--Ireland--in unemployment. There are 316,000 Belgians out of work. Willy Claes, minister of economic affairs, predicts that the number will approach 600,000 by 1985, so that it no longer makes much difference whether the present number is taken to be 7.4 percent of the work force (as stated in the Belgian official statistics) or 10.4 percent (according to the statistical office of the EC), presumably because certain categories are not included in the statistics.

Here, too, bankruptcy threatens: Last year 64 billion Belgian francs (3.6 billion Swiss francs) had to be paid out in unemployment compensation to the then only 294,000 who were out of work. Belgium allows itself the luxury of an extraordinarily generous social insurance for people without work: they get support with no time limit. About 30,000 cases of fraudulent use of the system are discovered each year.

The key question is how bankruptcy is to be averted. All "categories" of the population are trying through the organizations that represent their interests to push the burden off on others. The state employees are the most striking example of this. Even here in Switzerland they constitute one of the strongest special interest groups--hence the support of their "no" to the retirement deduction even by the labor unions. In itself this attitude is still hard to understand; a movement is hesitantly getting under way whose aim is to freeze wages and salaries in the country for 3 years.

As in the case of the Banque d'Industrie et de Commerce (see below), there are reports from shipyards along the Belgian coast, too, of agreements between company managements and personnel for reducing wages and salaries. Interestingly enough, the suggestions for a wage freeze, which would be accepted in return for a guarantee of job tenure, are coming from union circles.

There is already some grumbling among the people. No longer ago than the middle of the year, excise taxes were raised, for example on gasoline, fuels, alcoholic beverages, and even the shellfish that are so popular here and are a kind of national food. Now the tax screw will probably be given another turn; at the end of September the tax on gasoline went up about another two points. For 1980 and 1981 the state must cover an annual revenue deficit of about 100 billion Belgian francs (5.7 billion Swiss francs). The spending proposals of the ministries are being cut back as much as feasible--but no reduction in the pensions of members of parliament and ministers is predicted.

Something of the kind is in prospect, on the other hand, for the common people. The shortages in the various compulsory social insurances--for old age, sickness, and unemployment--now amount to 34 billion Belgian francs (1.9 billion Swiss francs). About half of that amount is to be brought in by higher premium rates, a thing that is opposed especially by the employers, who are burdened with about two thirds of the premiums. "After all," as Mark Eyskens rightly says, "we must let healthy enterprises produce profitably." Recently the unions have been showing a willingness to accept higher premium rates. The other half of the deficit would have to be covered by reduced benefits.

The patient's share of the costs of laboratory tests, X-rays, spectacles, and contact lenses will go up. Abuses of unemployment compensation might perhaps be restricted by stricter controls. Anyone who is sick will have to count on the immediate visit of a checker, at least more often than is now the case--but who pays the salaries of these new officials? The idea is even going around of doing away with the doctor's certification altogether--"a phone call to the office or plant is enough"--but increasing the inspection visits instead. As if the saving in doctors' fees payable by social security would not be eaten up by additional salaries for new state employees.

Things look especially gloomy for guaranteeing the buying power of annuities as the pension funds are depleted. That has been known since 1978 from a secret report, and now at last the truth comes out: The pension "reserve" for all recipients of annuities, not only for former state employees, is barely enough for one year. Whereas in 1950 there were four working people to one pensioner, today the ratio is 1:1.76. De Croo, minister for pensions, sees a uniform pension as the magical solution--equally little money for all, with tax incentives to encourage citizens of greater pretensions to provide better for their old age by supplementary insurance. If Belgium means to cope with the flood of hundreds of thousands of young people into the labor market by 1985, it must create that many new jobs. In the textile industry alone a Five Year-Plan for Restructuring calls for the expenditure of 35 billion Belgian francs (2 billion Swiss francs).

Coming out of the crisis would require a continuous real economic growth of at least 3 percent a year. In 1978 and 1979 it was 2.5 percent; this year even 1.3 percent would be an achievement.

## BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ANALYSIS

Athens BUSINESS &amp; FINANCE in English 13 Sep 80 p 2

[Text]

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**A rising import bill pushes up total imports despite stagnating imports of private sector**

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THE January-July balance of payments figures show no significant change over the half year data (see B&F No.103). Total imports rose by 12.1% to \$6,328 million. All the increase came from the 52.2% rise of state imports, more than 70% of which is oil. Imports of the private sector declined by 0.1% due to the considerable slowdown of the economic activity and the voluntary restraint of certain categories of imports applied successfully so far by the importers associations. State imports accounted in the first seven months of 1980 for 32% of the total compared with 23% a year ago.

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**A recovery of exports and invisibles**

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Exports rose by 9.3% to \$2,417 million, reflecting problems of the exporters, due to weak foreign demand. As exports now cover 38.2% of imports, the trade deficit rose at a higher rate (13.9%) to \$3,991 million. 60% of the trade deficit was covered by the recovering net invisibles. In fact, invisible receipts grew by 13.1% to \$3,253 million. Receipts from shipping rose by 19.3% to \$1,011 million. Despite the drop in tourist arrivals, receipts from tourism also rose by 15% to \$858 million, quite a satisfactory performance. Emigrant and worker remittances fell by 10% to \$545 million reflecting both lower numbers of Greeks working abroad, and lower net inflows of their deposits in foreign exchange with the banks in Greece. Of the invisible payments which rose by 21.3% to \$878 million the most important items were the interest and dividend payments, and the payments for tourism and education.

## Greece: Balance of payments

(millions of dollars)

| JANUARY-JULY<br>(preliminary)   |        |        |     |
|---|--------|--------|-----|
|   | 1979   | 1980   | %   |
| 1 Imports   | 5,645  | 6,328  | 121 |
| a Private   | 4,328  | 4,323  | 101 |
| b State   | 1,317  | 2,005  | 152 |
| 2 Exports   | 2,212  | 2,417  | 109 |
| 3 Trade deficit   | -3,433 | -3,911 | 114 |
| 4 Net invisibles  | 2,152  | 2,375  | 110 |
| a Receipts  | 2,876  | 3,253  | 113 |
| Tourism   | 746    | 858    | 115 |
| Shipping remittances  | 847    | 1,011  | 119 |
| Emigrant and worker remittances   | 603    | 545    | 90  |
| Other   | 680    | 839    | 123 |
| b Payments  | 724    | 878    | 121 |
| 5 Current account deficit   | -1,281 | -1,536 | 119 |
| 6 Capital inflow (net)  | 701    | 1,311  | 188 |
| a Private capital inflow  | 795    | 873    | 110 |
| b Official borrowing (State, Bank of Greece, public enterprises, supplier credits, SDR's) | 125    | 716    | 572 |
| c Amortization  | (-219) | (-278) | 127 |
| (public)  | (-183) | (-241) | 132 |
| (private)   | (-36)  | (-37)  | 103 |
| 7 Errors and omissions  | 648    | 218    | 34  |
| 8 Net position from external operations   | 68     | 7      | 10  |
| 9 Official assets in gold and convertible currencies                                      | 1,112  | 1,015  | 91  |
| 10 Outstanding foreign supplier credits   | 1,327  | 602    | 45  |

**Higher current account deficit results in increased borrowing and drawing on reserves**

The improvement in exports and invisible receipts resulted in a slowing down in the growth of the current account deficit, which rose by 19.9% to \$1,536 million. This was covered by increased net capital inflows, a positive Errors

and Omissions figure, and a drawing on reserves. Official reserves in gold and convertible currencies dropped to \$1,015 million by the end of July, covering slightly more than one month's imports. Nevertheless, gold reserves at about \$170 million are calculated at SDR 35 per ounce, only a fraction of its market price.

E.L.

ICELAND REPORTER DISCUSSES ECONOMIC, SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Tough Wage Negotiations Start

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 27-28 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Threatur Haraldsson, Icelandic Reporter]

[Text] The parties in the Icelandic labor market are arming themselves for a round of negotiations which may easily end in a general strike.

The Icelandic society has had to live without any basic labor agreement for nearly 9 months. This applies to the free sector of the market, in that the government and state employees have just reached an agreement through negotiations.

The economic situation forms a somber background to the ongoing negotiations. Inflation is raging on at an annual rate of 90 percent. The fishing industry is faced with a crisis, and one of the biggest companies of the country, the airline company Flugleidir (known abroad as Iceland Air) is on the verge of bankruptcy.

But the reason why the society has been able to function for 9 months without any basic labor agreement is that things work entirely differently in Iceland than in Denmark. In Iceland, people are simply used to that kind of situation.

No Wildcat Strikes

Armundur Stefannsson, business manager of the Icelandic Trade Union Confederation, explains it the following way:

"I believe that the biggest difference between the Danish and the Icelandic trade union movements is that, with us, the power is decentralized to a

the greater extent than with the Danish Trade Union Confederation. The right to strike and the right to carry on formal negotiations are vested in the individual, local trade union. Transferred to Danish conditions, this would mean that each individual branch would have the final power to call strikes and to call them off, just as it would be the individual branch meetings which would be deciding whether to approve or reject the position for a negotiating position. The central negotiating committee of the Trade Union Confederation has formally no power."

"Another difference is that no single party dominates within the Trade Union Confederation. The central committee of the Trade Union Confederation is composed of 15 members and, among them, you will find representatives of the four political parties and a couple of independents."

"This way of affairs means that the negotiating process usually becomes very protracted."

"It must be noted that the term 'wildcat strikes' is unknown. Nevertheless, Iceland has a large number of strike days. This is due to the fact that when they strike, it is a question of general strikes which paralyze the entire society. Off and on, there are also strikes among groups which are not covered by the basic labor agreement, for example seamen," Armandur Stefansson says.

He adds that the reason for the frequent major strikes is that, in a country with such big fluctuations in incomes--Icelanders have seen their national income drop by up to 10 percent in the course of just a few months--it simply is not possible to make long-term wage agreements at a time. These fluctuations also cause a very severe struggle as to how to cut the cake.

#### Tough Customer

Thorvaldur Pálsson took up the post as the business manager of the Icelandic Employers' Association a little over 18 months ago. He belongs to the new liberal wing of the Independence Party and is regarded as a tough customer.

However that may be, it so happened that a few months after he took up his post, the employers threatened the seamen with a lock-out for the first time in 11 years. I asked him whether one may, in the future, expect a more militant procedure on the part of the employers--whether the employers intend to break the Icelandic Trade Union Confederation.

"The condition for any form of free negotiations is that both parties have more or less the same strength in the labor market. We feel that the Trade Union Confederation has used its strike weapon to strengthen its position, and we want to set things right."

However, it is difficult to say in the present situation whether or not, this time, by using the lock-out weapon. Lock-out is a defense action. But it may prove necessary in order to maintain the balance of power and to counteract point strikes and similar actions on the part of the workers," Pálsson said.

## Prices Doubled in 7 Years

In the negotiations which are now in progress, the Trade Union Confederation has demanded a 5 percent general wage increase, plus a number of improvements in the area of social affairs. However, so far, their actions have been concentrating on the cost-of-living adjustment. And that is not so strange, considering that prices have doubled every 7 years.

The current cost of living adjustment gives the workers approximately 50 percent compensation for price increases--the Trade Union Confederation demands 100 percent compensation. However, what they cannot agree on is how to adjust the wages.

At present, this is done on a percentage basis across the entire scale of wages, which means that a 10 percent increase gives the worker who makes 2,000 kroner a month an increase of 200 kroner, whereas the one who makes 6,000 kroner a month gets double the amount. The Trade Union Confederation has proposed that everybody get approximately the same compensation. This would mean a wage equalization instead of the rapidly widening difference caused by the present system.

The employers have not wanted to agree to that. "The reason probably is that the group of workers with low wages is so big," says Asmundur Stefansson. He adds that it is imperative to increase the lowest wages, among other reasons because workers with low wages have no possibilities of participating in the inflation game, where the only way to counteract the rapid deterioration of the money is to invest, primarily in concrete.

But disunity reigns, both within the camp of employers and within the camp of workers. For weeks on end during the past summer the employers attempted to take a very hard line in their negotiations. They refused to talk to the Trade Union Confederation. Their goal clearly was to soften the opponent.

But when a few trade unions, on their own, started contacting their respective federations within the Trade Union Confederation, Palsen & Co. had to give up, and a new meeting of negotiations was convened.

It should be added here that the position of official mediator is much weaker in Iceland than in Denmark. He does not, for example, have the authority to postpone strikes or to force the parties to the negotiating table. His function is exclusively that of an intermediary. He may advance proposals for a settlement, but he cannot put any force behind them.

Nor is the Trade Union Confederation any angel of peace. For a number of years, frictions have existed between skilled and unskilled labor. The latter group has not been too happy to see groups with higher wages within the Trade Union Confederation obtain far bigger wage increases by virtue of the percentage cost of living adjustments. Skilled laborers, on the

other hand, have made good money on the system because they have far greater possibilities of getting a relatively good income, thanks to piece-work systems and the like.

### Seeking Strong Chairman

Party politics also plays a role. Since the congress of the Trade Union Confederation in 1976, the two biggest parties within the Trade Union Confederation, the People's Alliance and the Social Democrats, who, between them, have the majority within the central committee, have had a close co-operation on trade union matters, but that is not the case on the political front.

From 1974 to 1978, both parties were in the government opposition, which was a decisive reason for the success of their cooperation on trade union matters. In the fall of 1978, the two parties went into government cooperation with the liberal Progressive Party. The disagreements of the two parties now flared up, and after a violent dialogue, the Social Democrats left the government in the fall of 1979. The People's Alliance and the Progressive Party formed a new government together with people who had left the Independence Party. The Social Democrats are fierce opponents of that government, and the deep political disagreements among the two latter parties will, undoubtedly, influence their cooperation in trade union matters.

All these problems were thrown in relief at the 44th congress of the Icelandic Trade Union Confederation that was held this fall. The big battle will concern the post of chairman. At the last congress, a Social Democrat was elected chairman, but when, on account of illness, he became unable to work halfway through the election period, Snorri Jonsson of the People's Alliance and chairman of the Blacksmiths' Trade Union, became acting chairman. However, he is not a strong force, neither within the Trade Union Confederation nor within his own party, and he is, therefore, hardly likely to be elected to the office.

So far, they have not succeeded in finding a candidate who is acceptable to all the parties concerned, and it will, undoubtedly, become difficult to find one.

### Overtime Work, Moonlighting Spread

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 30 Sep 80 p 7

[Article by Threatur Haraldsson]

[Text] The high standard of living in Iceland is maintained through lots of overtime work.

As far as its standard of living is concerned, Iceland is comparable with the rest of the Nordic countries. In a few areas, its standard of living is higher. Many people, for example, drive big American cars or

leaps (the latter, by the way, are the vehicles best suited for Icelandic roads), and a far larger proportion of the Icelandic population live in their own homes or own apartments than in Scandinavia.

The price level is more or less the same as in Denmark. Perhaps a little higher. Wages, on the other hand, are considerably lower than in Denmark. The minimum wage is well below 20 kroner per hour, and the monthly wages of unskilled laborers are around 3,000 kroner. It is true that taxes are lower--direct taxes of wage earners are, on the average, 13-14 percent, while they are nearly 40 percent in Denmark. Nevertheless, it is hard for a foreigner to understand how it is possible for Icelanders to maintain such a high standard of living.

The answer is simply: overtime work is both a necessity and a virtue. Throughout the area covered by the Trade Union Confederation, the average working week is more than 50 hours (this includes part-time workers). In the fishing industry, it is as high as around 60 hours, and in a few trades, it even reaches 70 hours. Between 30 and 40 percent of the total wages paid in this country are for overtime work.

The Vestmann Islands are the biggest fishing harbor in the country. In the spring season, the working day at the fish factories is from 8 a.m. to 10-11 p.m., often 7 days a week. A long period of bad weather or failure of the catch provide the only relief from this kind of slavery.

In many places, it is quite common to give children time off from school if the catch is exceptionally good. Children down to the age of 10 then work a full working day and often do overtime work as well. Indeed, on the busiest days, even the wives of the doctor, the minister, and the chief administrative officer of the county will have to lend a hand.

On the fishing fleet, things are, if possible, worse. The trawlers have a fixed 8 1/2 hour week. The small cutters have no fixed working time. When the catch is good and the weather favorable it is an exception to observe the rule of a 4 hour uninterrupted rest period every 24 hours. The crew may get 2-3 hours sleep. And their wage agreements do not provide for free weekends during the period from 1 January to 1 May.

#### Eight Hours Not Enough to Make Ends Meet

However, it is not just for the fun of it that Icelanders work so hard. It is costly and requires a lot of work to maintain a society of only 240,000 inhabitants in a country 2 1/2 times the size of Denmark.

However, the major cause of overtime work is found when looking at the family budget of the individual wage earner, according to which a family of four needs 84 hours of longshoreman wages per week to cover its normal needs. In other words, it is not enough for both parents to have full-time work, it takes more than that.

In the mid-seventies, an incentive scheme was introduced in all the fish factories of the country, under which it became possible for people to nearly double their wages, that is, if they worked really hard. One would be inclined to think that this would result in a shorter working day. But that has not been the case. The working day is just as long as before, the wages are higher, and so is the consumption.

There is next to no unemployment in Iceland. On the contrary, in many areas, there is a shortage of labor. This results in extra payments and all kinds of fringe benefits. But where an employer needs laborers for a job that pays low wages, he will have to provide long working days in order to attract workers. Nobody would dream of accepting an 8-hour job, one cannot make ends meet on that.

#### Jon Jonsson Builts House

One of the reasons for the long working day is the situation on the housing market. As stated previously, most Icelanders live in their own homes (in Reykjavik, the figure is approximately 80 percent of the inhabitants), one of the reasons being that it is no particularly enviable situation being a tenant in Iceland. There is a shortage of apartments for rent, and if one is able to get hold of an apartment, one does not know how long one can stay there. There are very few real estate landlords, and serious housing construction for rental purposes is an unknown phenomenon. Most rental apartments are owned by families who own one or two apartments in addition to the one in which they are living. So, if the daughter of the owner is going to get married and settle down, the tenant is thrown out.

The result is that most people try as soon as possible to purchase an apartment. But this is not a simple thing to do. The down payment is usually 50-60 percent of the purchase price, and the remainder has to be paid over a period of 9 to 10 years. What does Jon Jonsson, a laborer, on a monthly salary of 3,500 kroner, do if he wants to acquire an apartment at 500,000 kroner, 300,000 kroner of which have to be paid within 17 months?

Well, he gets a government loan, but that is far from enough. He then goes to the pension fund of his trade union to borrow more money. But he still lacks quite a good deal of money. If he is lucky, he has got a relative or a friend who is also a member of a pension fund but who does not need to make use of his borrowing possibilities. The remainder he gets by way of short-term loans in banks. All of these loans carry sky-high interest rates.

And, then, he has got to work for 12, 14, 16 hours a day. Moonlighting is the very thing to do, and a small extra job during weekends is just ideal. In this way, 5, perhaps 10, years will go by before Jon Jonsson can again start taking it a bit more easy.

But, having worked hard for such a long time, it is not easy to relax. Jon Jonsson does not quite know what to do with all the leisure time

which he, all of a sudden, has got. He has become a victim of "work addiction," a widely spread affliction in Iceland, which has reached nearly epidemic proportions. He starts wondering if it would not be nice having a somewhat bigger apartment or a single-family home with its own garden. A car is an absolute necessity, and perhaps it is time to exchange the old car for a new one?

### Work Addiction

In May of this year, the Icelandic League for Workers' Education and the Iron and Steel Workers' Federation held a joint conference on work environment and leisure time. The conference largely agreed that it would be a good thing to put a ceiling on overtime work. This, however, was challenged in a speech by the wife of a shipyard worker. She said:

"An alcoholic does not stop drinking just because one takes the bottle away from him. He will find a new bottle. The same thing applies to the workaholic who does not get enough overtime work at the shipyard. He will, no doubt, try to obtain an extra job as an automobile mechanic or an evening job at the local fish factory."

"A couple of years ago, the trade union put a ban on overtime work (as a link in a trade union struggle--editor) which lasted a few weeks. The incredible thing happened that the production was not reduced appreciably. That was strange, but even stranger was the fact that, despite the experience made, everything became the way it was before after the ban was lifted."

I discussed the problem with Tryggvi Thor Adalsteinsason, who works for the league for Workers' Education. He told me that in 1976 the League for Workers' Education participated in a joint project together with the other Leagues for Workers' Education in the Nordic countries, in which connection they visited some places of work, offering to set up discussion groups. Those who did not want to or were unable to attend were asked to state the reason for their refusal. He said that Iceland was the only country giving reasons such as "overtime work" or simply "fatigue."

"Overtime work is the biggest obstacle we encounter in our work. That means that people have either not got the time to participate in our courses, or that they will give up very soon. This is understandable, of course. You cannot expect people who work till 10 p.m. 6 days a week to be active in such educational work as well," Adalsteinsason said.

### Completely Empty Headed

But there are indications that it has started dawning on people that life may hold other things than just work and sleep. Voices are heard criticizing the long working day. In an interview with the THJODVILJINN paper, a worker from the Vestmann Island says:

"I got home from the factory at 10.30 p.m. every night. I washed and changed clothes. Then I sat down for approximately 1 hour, drinking a cup of coffee, sometimes I managed to leaf through the paper. I then fell asleep, to get up

at 7 a.m. the next morning. One gets to be completely empty headed."

"Many people suffer from all kinds of diseases, mostly myositis. I have been on vacation for 1 month, but I have still got the pain in my muscles. The women suffer either from myositis or abdominal pains--the children have got to fend for themselves."

#### No Patent Solution

How does one get rid of the long working day? There are no patent solutions. But it is obvious that the wages will have to be raised considerably so that people can manage on a 40-hour work week. The housing situation will have to be changed radically. The tax system as well constitutes an obstacle to those who want to limit their work. Iceland has got no taxation at the source. They pay taxes the year after the money was earned. Consequently, if an Icelandic made good money last year, it is no easy thing to go down in wages this year. He then gets a supplementary tax bill. Workaholics have to withdraw slowly from overtime work.

The trade union movement has not started fighting the long working day. Nevertheless, there are signs that the previously mentioned ban on overtime work has made people aware of the problem. "People are still talking about this strange experience when all of a sudden they got time to do a lot of things they had been neglecting," Trygvi Thor Adalsteinsson says.

#### Guest Worker Problem

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 1 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by Thrastur Haraldsson]

[Text] Icelandic seasonal workers revolt against poor living conditions.

If, on Iceland, one is looking for optimism and fighting spirit, one must look up the Action Group of the Seasonal Workers. It would not be hard to find it, for, in the 14 months of its existence, the group has managed to attract great attention to the problems and struggle for better conditions of this exposed group within the society.

The term seasonal worker is perhaps somewhat misleading because the Icelandic word "farandverkamaður" means somebody who wanders from fishing hamlet to fishing hamlet in step with the movements of the fish, somebody who takes work a few months at a time at each place. Seasonal workers are of both sexes, they go where it is high season, they sign up on cutters or work in fish factories--and disappear together with the fish once the season is over.

Seasonal work has been an integral part of the lives of Icelandic workers from days of old. Formerly, well-to-do farmers would send their farm hands

out to work, i.e. to the fishing hamlet closest by, especially during the winter and spring when there was not too much work on the farm. The farmers got the earnings of their farm hands, the farm hands got only their fixed wages, which did not amount to much more than board and lodging. Poor farmers went themselves out to work.

"We consider ourselves the heirs of the farm hands," says Thordur Hjarturson, a farmer's son from Syðlandet and active in the struggle of the seasonal workers. He works as a fisherman or construction worker, or whatever comes up.

### Tatterdemalions

Although the seasonal workers have thus existed for centuries, their struggle started only last year. Seasonal workers naturally are always on the tramp. There is a rapid turnover in their ranks, most of them are very young, people who are in the process of establishing themselves in the world.

The reason why their struggle has started at all is probably that, during the general increase in prosperity after World War II, they were given the name of the dirty children of the society. They usually are unpopular among the resident population, and the local trade unions have neglected them entirely. They are Iceland's real tatterdemalions.

But, last year, their struggle thus started on the Vestmann Islands. Among the seasonal workers in this town which is Iceland's biggest fishing town, were some old hands who had been wandering about for nearly 10 years. They were tired of their wretched life, and they called a meeting at which the seasonal workers on the island discussed their problems and worked out their demands to employers and trade unions in detail.

The factory management reacted immediately, dismissing one of the most active among them. The others reacted by going on strike. They got in contact with the local trade union leaders, who proved to take a sympathetic attitude toward them. And they won their battle. This gave them an impetus and formed a good basis for their continued struggle.

### No Trade Union Rights

What are the conditions to which seasonal workers are subject?

Their conditions, of course, differ quite a good deal from town to town. Still, there are some common features. For example, they are not allowed to become members of the trade unions since, under the by-laws of the trade unions, membership is conditional upon the person in question having permanent residence in the municipality. They do not. Nevertheless, they have to pay dues to the local trade union for their "work permit" as it is called. If they work in four different places within a period of 12 months, they have to pay twice the amount of the annual trade union subscription, but they have no trade union rights.

Seasonal workers usually have to pay the fare themselves to and from their places of work, and they have to pay for their board as well. The latter often amounts to 60-70 percent of what they earn on an 8 hour working day.

Their accommodations differ from place to place. In some places, they are quite all right. But, in other places, the conditions are so poor that they do not even meet the most basic requirements for housing for humans. In many places, seasonal workers live within the factories, which means that they never escape the strong smell that is typical of fish.

On the Vestmanna Islands, the attic above the rooms of the seasonal workers was used for storing stockfish. Stockfish attract swarms of flies, and, as is well-known, where there are flies, there also are maggots. The people living downstairs had some quite unexpected visits from maggots which found their way through cracks in the ceiling.

This was one example. But a common feature of a large number of places where seasonal workers are lodged is poor sanitary conditions, poor or totally lacking kitchen facilities--in short, it is a question of dirty, smelly sheds which are not even maintained. Recreational facilities are practically unknown.

If to this one adds a long working day--14-16 hours, 6-7 days a week--it is quite understandable that seasonal workers get drunk when the opportunity presents itself. They have got a lot of pent-up stress to get rid of.

But if they get drunk, they immediately become unpopular among the local residents, who will call them bums, tramps, and the like. And if they get into fights or destroy property wantonly, they are punished with expulsion, not only from the factory itself but also from the municipality. For the factory management in a small fishing town usually has got extremely good connections within the municipal board as well as at the police station.

#### Guest Workers

Among the seasonal workers are also guest workers. Formerly, hundreds of Faroese would each year come to Iceland to work during the high season. This current has now been reversed. Now some Icelanders take work on the Faroe Islands, where the wages and the working conditions have gradually become better than in Iceland.

However, there are some Greenlanders in Iceland. From the point of view of their employers, they are very good laborers, one can treat them as one pleases, they will not protest.

During the last few years, Icelandic employers have started a campaign to attract Australian and New Zealand women to the country. It is primarily a question of young women who study in England. They go to Iceland to make

money for a trip around Europe after conclusion of their studies, or for the long trip home.

The information they get before going to Iceland often proves inadequate. If they sign a contract for 7 months, their home trip to England will be paid for. But they have to pay for their food like their Icelandic colleagues, and it may be expensive. In many cases, the promises of a long working day, and thus high wages, are not kept. And they cannot protest, that may cost them the job. If they are fired, there is not much that they can do as their work permit is limited to the firm that got them into the country. If they leave their job prematurely, the travel costs will be deducted from their wages.

#### Does the Trade Union Confederation Break Its Promises

The Action Group of the Seasonal Workers has taken the cause of these foreign women in hand, and one of the results of their efforts is that the work permits of these foreign women in the future will apply to the entire fishing industry.

When the seasonal workers started their action, the reaction of the trade union movement was surprisingly positive. They were invited to the congress of the National Federation of Unskilled Laborers, a liaison committee was set up between them and the leadership of the Trade Union Confederation, and their demands were incorporated in the chief demands of the Trade Union Confederation in the negotiations which are taking place at present.

But the enthusiasm gradually waned. The leadership of the Trade Union Confederation discovered that the struggle of the seasonal workers, which, of necessity, has to take place on a national basis, runs counter to the structure of the trade union movement. On account of the comparatively big power of the local trade unions, the local trade union chiefs also have much power, and most of them are quite aware of this big power. Many of them are not at all interested in safeguarding the interests of "the tramps." And are often even less interested in cooperating with local trade unions in other towns, they often have disputes with the chiefs of the trade unions in the neighboring town, they may belong to a different party, or they are simply personal enemies.

However that may be, it is widely felt within the ranks of seasonal workers that the top leadership of the Trade Union Confederation will go back on its promises at the earliest possible opportunity.

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CSO: 3106

SURVEY OF SICILIAN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS, POLICIES

Palermo GIORNALE DI SICILIA in Italian 17, 24 Jul; 9, 14 Aug; 4 Sep 80

[Five-part article by Rino Canzoneri: "Problems, Difficulties and Hopes of the Island"]

[17 Jul 80, p 12]

[Interview with Confcoltivatori Regional President Girolamo Scaturro]

[Text] Agriculture is between crisis and development. What is happening in that area? What problems are still unsolved? What proposals are being advanced to give new life to the farmlands? We will try to give an answer to all these questions in the interviews which we begin to publish today.

We spoke with Girolamo Scaturro, regional president of Confcoltivatori, umbrella organization for most of the agricultural producers who politically are in the leftist parties. The first question is tied to a news event which recently was given much space in the newspapers: The harsh measures launched by the cabinet.

[Question] How do these measures affect agriculture?

[Scaturro] The repercussions will be extremely serious. Unlike industry which always passes increased costs to consumers, agriculture--because it produces basic staples--cannot do the same. The harsh government measures, because of the increase in the price of petroleum products and the IVA [Value Added Tax] on many industrial products will produce a marked increase in the price of technical and chemical necessities for agriculture. This will result in a further serious blow to budgets of agricultural enterprises, which will be particularly hard for businesses run by independent farmers. The latter also are burdened in the same government measure by increases in contributions for social security and health. In the meantime, big industry is favored by the increasing extension of tax relief for social security expenses.

[Question] But the withholding of 0.50 [percent] of wages should lead to increased investment in the south. Will there also be money for southern agriculture?

[Answer] The unhappy decision to create a fund which is presented as a measure in support of the south by withholdings on salaries is under the circumstances a real deception. Special attention to the south in fact is limited only to the first year while for the other 4 years the fund will finance all industries which, as is known, are principally concentrated in the north. Not even one cent will go to agriculture in any Italian region.

[Question] Is this, therefore, the old logic of favoring industry over agriculture to an unjustified degree?

[Answer] Exactly. But it is well to know that no general improvement of the economy, and particularly that of the south and Sicily, can be possible unless adequate measures which aim at the revitalization of agriculture are adopted. Furthermore, the government cannot think of delaying the implementation of planning and the food agriculture program.

[Question] Rome is not thinking of farmlands; rather measures are taken which deal a considerable blow to agriculture. What can the regional government do to attenuate the effect of the crisis that comes from the north?

[Answer] It should be noted that the regional president took a clear critical position concerning the national measures. However, we think the reference he made to the measures that should be taken are insufficient and very general. Expansion of credit in order to deal with restrictive measures is undoubtedly a valid effort, but it is insufficient if it is used alone.

[Question] What else should be done?

[Answer] Well, for example, we consider that an initiative of liaison with the other southern regions for a common position which would affect parliamentary debate on ratification of government decrees is useful. Locally, we think the substantial refusal to begin implementation of programming is very dangerous. The recent decision of the government council, which seriously mutilated the outline of the regional agricultural program approved by the regional planning committee certainly goes in a direction that is the opposite of the good intentions expressed by D'Acquisto. In fact, the council's decision cancels all the programming norms contained in the initial document and, in control of agriculture, it leaves broad margins for perpetuation of the policy of disorderly and patronage-directed assistance.

[Question] Can we be a little more specific?

[Answer] In substance the government has decided that businesses run by independent farmers cannot be assigned more than 50 percent of the appropriations. The very wording of the measure is a joke at the expense of the farmers, who in Sicily represent 85 percent of all businesses and who control 70 percent of the land area used and 80 percent of overall agricultural production. On this basis, they have a right to a share of public financing of not less than 75 percent of appropriations for agriculture, including agricultural credit on favorable terms. The planning committee had expressed itself almost unanimously in these terms. Furthermore, the government did not provide the instruments the committee needed for programming in order to permit a real verification of financing for agricultural enterprises. In this way it wanted to perpetuate the present patronage-oriented and discriminatory method at public expense.

[Question] Could this lead to suspicion of possible tangential payments?

[Answer] Personally I have no evidence on which to base a statement of that kind. However, I must believe that repeated and massive financing for agricultural enterprises and contractors that come under public works projects add impressively to the suspicion that payments are being made on the side and that they may be very large.

[Question] And how is this council moving from the operational point of view, that is, from the point of view of political-legislative initiative?

[Answer] In December 1978, we drafted a long document that answered the question you asked me. Nothing has changed since then.

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Scaturro goes back, therefore, to what was said about a year and a half ago. This is what that document said: "The council for some years has been reduced to an organization of contemplation of the agricultural conditions on the island and of a simple dispenser of administrative papers and lives day by day. There is an almost total absence of what its authentic function of planning organization for agricultural development of the island should be."

And now we refer to the legislative initiative.

"This is very scarce. The most sensational case is that of the failure to receive the national laws which contain community directives. One is dated 1975 and refers to agricultural reform, the other is dated 1976 and contains provisions for mountainous and underdeveloped areas. The lack of these laws causes the region to lose state financing under those headings, or if they were received, their expenditure was carried out in a wasteful and distorted way."

Further: "Cognizance was not taken of the national law of 1975 on associations of milk producers, that for the development of the association in farm areas, and Law 440 of 1978 which prescribes norms for the utilization of uncultivated lands."

[24 Jul 80 p 11]

[Interview with Antonio Petyx, Regional Director of Animal Breeders Association]

[Text] Continuing our interviews with Sicilian agricultural and livestock leaders, this week we directed our questions at Antonio Petyx. He is the regional director of the Animal Breeders Association, an organization that represents most of the island's breeders. Here is the text of the interview:

[Question] Many are convinced that Sicily has a great agricultural potential. Does this mean that there is no room for other sectors of production?

[Answer] To say agriculture does not mean excluding the rest. First of all it must be kept in mind that in addition to this sector others exist that are underdeveloped and instead can contribute much. I refer to tourism, fishing and handicrafts.

Consider also that the factors that depress the economy are mainly energy and food supplies for which imports are increasingly more expensive. While for the energy problem we must suffer conditions imposed by producing nations (hoping for the utilization of better and cheaper methane) for food products, above all for meat, milk and cheeses, Sicily can still contribute much, provided that this is its aim, through a policy that would provide infrastructure and structures for the stabilization of the sector.

Most of the Sicilian towns base their local economies on profits from agriculture. For this reason, it is not certain that some factories, which in general are built near the big urban centers, could support this economy if disaffection from agriculture should increase and become more deeply rooted.

Industry should be tied to production of technical means for agriculture and for other Sicilian sectors, as well as the processing of agricultural and fishery products.

How much bluefish, which could be processed into high protein fish flour, is destroyed due to the lack of processing plants? Destroyed in the same way are the residues of agricultural processing as well as urban solid waste which are possible sources of protein and energy.

[Question] Your statement about the role of agriculture, above all regarding food supply, is irrefutable, but the development cannot take place if the exodus from the farms and the disaffection of youth concerning agricultural problems continues.

[Answer] Certainly when hard farm work is compared with jobs that take people to the cities, that insure a fixed income, that permit a social life that is at least apparently more comfortable, the choice is obvious. When, above all, the rural world is considered to have no fixed and equivalent social position, the desire to escape is obvious. Yet in countries such as Holland, France, Germany, the role of the farmer in society is no different from that of other citizens, and the economy of those nations was directed successfully on the role of these producers.

Thus, that phenomenon can be avoided by creating in the rural areas through appropriate policies, the conditions for civil life with a minimum guarantee of income from agricultural work. I am certain that with equally favorable conditions, many in the cities and in factories prefer the healthy life of the farmlands.

[Question] In substance what do you believe must be done to make the farmlands green again?

[Answer] Above all it is necessary to aim at planning aid both on the national level and on the regional level. Planning means basically to single out the directions of economic development on the basis of objective need and the possibility of aiming at the achievement over the short term of the objectives adopted.

We learn from the press that the regional council has approved the planning draft, an effort to which unfortunately we were not invited to make a possible contribution and, therefore, we do not know the background of aims for the sector. But despite this, because of a need for clear operational directives and sectorial development and also in order to make a concrete contribution to planning units, the council of the breeders association called a meeting for next March of the "Regional Livestock Conference." Through a broad provincial consultation of agricultural representatives and of businessmen, the conference is expected to examine the status of the sector and to supply the government with suggestions for enhancing existing forces and establishments in the broadest interests of the regional economy.

Aside from the more analytical suggestions that will emerge from the conference, it must be said immediately that they must absolutely be done quickly, and procedures for distribution of aid to the sectors must be simplified. Favorable, immediate and accessible credit must be supplied to companies that cannot function because of the high cost of money and competition with producers from other regions or from abroad. Under the administration of the region, a few, large interprovincial sectors for manufacturing and processing livestock products must be created.

There are essential suggestions that can be introduced before the conclusions of the conference. Rather, if they are favorably started as a program of the regional government they can seek out the businessmen who will be consulted and who will be more directly interested and participate in the program of rebuilding the sector.

[Question] We come now to a national theme which certainly will have repercussions in our region and on agriculture. Will these government decrees really have negative repercussions on this sector, as has been heard frequently over the past few days?

[Answer] Certainly yes, because almost all technical means indispensable to agricultural production, from fuels to fertilizers, are affected by government decisions. Furthermore, the sector has once more been excluded from the fiscalization of social costs, thus paying for the cost of the industrial crisis. This, on top of the already heavy budget of the past 2 years for agricultural-livestock enterprises, will result in decreased production and an increase in consumer prices. Nor can there be a change in the intention to use taxes on workers' wages for investments in the south which in practice, however, are not channeled to agriculture.

However, this is planned only for the first year when it is known very well that the investment cycle in agriculture, due to the procedures whose slowness has always been complained of, is much longer than the time assigned for the utilization of that money. Among other things, in addition to being alarming because of the aspects I have referred to, it once more calls upon categories with fixed incomes for economic recovery; those who always in the past have paid their taxes honestly, not taking into consideration all the other receivers of income of any description at all.

[Question] Then agriculture is once more penalized?

[Answer] In effect, that's the way it is. After long years of struggles we have arrived at the affirmation of the "centrality of agriculture." This statement never went into specifics considering that an increasing sluggishness has been registered in the area, as well as lack of organized and timely aid, a debilitating slowness in procedures which has been aggravated in the regional area by the progressive deactivation of the Council for Agriculture and Forestry where the lack of personnel has by now become chronic.

On the other hand, despite all the negative experiences in Sicily and with the evidence that the industrial sector is the one that is most affected by the economic crisis, despite awareness of the fact that industry does not have raw materials and that these are imported and manufactured at greater relative cost, a search is once more being made by industrialists, above all in the north, who come to invest in Sicily in order to once propose experiments which certainly are not destined to be successful, but can only produce expectations, tensions and environmental pollution.

[9 Aug 80 p 6]

[Interview with CISL Regional Secretary Sergio D'Antoni]

[Text] What is the trade union attitude toward agriculture? How committed are they in dealing with problems in this sector? Answers to these questions were given by CISL [Italian Confederation of Labor Unions] Regional Secretary Sergio D'Antoni.

[Question] Since they concentrate on production tied to industry and services, the trade unions give scant attention to agriculture. Yet full economic development cannot avoid also passing through this sector.

[Answer] I do not believe that trade unions overall, and particularly the CISL, have failed to perceive the strategic and central role of the agricultural sector; neither now, nor in the days of the so-called economic boom when we deluded ourselves that industrial development could have solved all problems of the Italian economy. On the contrary, we had the good sense, and not only recently, to warn the political and business class about the pernicious consequences of a development model which, because it obeyed market laws, became established upon emigration of immense masses from the south and the depopulation of the farm areas. The reality is that the policy of favoring the rate of exchange of industrial products in the community area to the detriment of agriculture has had harsh consequences on the economic-social fabric in prevalently agricultural areas such as Sicily. It is true that, despite full awareness of the distortions and imbalances strictly tied to this tendency, the trade unions did not have the strength to translate into positive action their plans of imposing a change on the development model.

[Question] What is your assessment of the agrarian policy of the government over the past 3 years?

[Answer] In recent years, intensification of the economic crisis induced a new awareness among the Italian leading class, and we emphasize with pleasure that this includes undoubtedly the reassessment of the centrality of the agricultural problem. Within this framework a positive fact is the beginning of an attempt at planning through Law 984 (quadriennio [agricultural law]).

On the regional level, large financial efforts were not followed by equally large results. We believe this is due to the absence of a planning policy, and as a result, to the dispersion of public monies in the agricultural sector in thousands of uncontrollable rivulets. In this regard, we firmly complain about the inadmissible delay of the regional government in regard to the approval of the sectorial plan which the trade union considers the indispensable instrument for planned channeling and distribution of public expenditures in agriculture.

[Question] Specifically, harsh judgments were expressed about the administration of the Regional Agricultural Council. What do you think?

[Answer] From the assessments we have already expressed clearly as our judgment, they cannot but be generally negative: Specifically, we charge the Agricultural Council with the political responsibility of having failed to provide planning direction to the large flow of public expenditures which would have been the expression of the consensus of social forces.

[Question] Very large sums totaling several tens of billions of lire were spent on agriculture but this financial effort, it seems, has not been followed by adequate development. Why?

[Answer] The absence of an overall planning vision, and consequently, the absence of political coordinations among sectorial aid inspired by sectorial rationale, have prevented the very large flow of public expenditures from corresponding to equally large productive investment. However, we must also guard ourselves from the opposite danger of believing that nothing has changed in recent years. The struggle of the working masses has achieved some positive results. They are certainly partial and insufficient, but they constitute firm achievements for the entire Sicilian peasant and laboring world. It is sufficient to see how entire areas have changed on the basis of a natural agricultural potential that is no longer compressed, even though there have not been all-out incentives (I am thinking of vineyards in the Trapani and Particino areas, hothouse production in Ragusa, of the social work projects, etc.).

[Question] Agroindustry. This is a relationship that has been talked about for some time, but there is still nothing specific. Why is this? Are the trade unions also delaying things?

[Answer] This is a strategically important sector which in coming years will see the interplay of possibilities of penetrating the market with southern agricultural products. It is necessary to be deeply aware that today it is indispensable to proceed in the short term to vertical methods of agricultural production through agroindustrial development that would start with basic vocations. Unfortunately, there is a considerable lack of infrastructural means in this area as well as damaging delays in deployment of entrepreneurial and political forces, and I must also say trade union forces.

[Question] Agricultural development lines so far have been traced in a certain way. What paths are the trade union pointing to today?

[Answer] One road to be followed, which, among other things, affects all the others, has already been pointed out: It is that that goes through immediate approval and implementation of plans for the sector in which the interested social forces are called upon to cooperate.

A second order of suggestions refers to land reorganization. On this subject, which we consider is of no less decisive importance than the first, unfortunately there is little discussion. We are convinced that the excessive fragmentation of landholdings which is typical of a large part of our areas, is posed as one of the most solid obstacles to the development of agriculture. Therefore, the Sicilian CISL considers that the indispensable instrument for the efficient administration of the sector is land reincorporation linked to the promotion of adequate cooperative experience.

I would say that the third road is a different agrarian credit policy. The existing system, based as it is on real guarantees, favors real estate values, and not professionalism, entrepreneurial skill, and the validity of investment programs. The aberrational result is that 60 percent of the entire volume of agrarian credit is used for the construction of farmhouses and not for productive investment. The trade union is firmly convinced that the banks must resume doing their job, which is that of assuming risks and financing investment programs, not certainly that of enjoying easy profits on the basis of simple increase of mortgage guarantees.

[Question] Farm development also needs an organized water plan. What is your opinion of the regional administration's efforts in this sector?

[Answer] The working masses' commitment to the struggle achieved a very significant result in 1974 with the implementation of a plan for 12 dams. Six years later, the trade union was forced to use all its potential for pressure to achieve the refinancing of that plan. And while, as is evident, we have a positive opinion of the refinancing draft law approved by ARS [Sicilian Regional Council] we endlessly stigmatize the inadmissible delays which have accumulated in recent years. On the one hand, they raise prices and, on the other hand, result in more than decades-long unfulfilled expectations of the farmers involved. Within the framework of the plan it is also legitimate to express some concerns, on the basis of past experience, regarding the six dams which directly involve the Fund for the South, from which the trade union movement demands precise commitments and a precise indication of schedules and modalities concerning which there is no intention of tolerating the least delay.

[14 Aug 80 p 10]

[Joint statement by Steering Committee Members of the Regional Federation of Owner-Occupier Farmers]

[Text] Within the framework of the interviews that attempt to describe the agricultural situation, today we hear from the Regional Federation of Owner-Occupier Farmers.

Answers are given by the executive group of this organization which expresses its opinion as a group.

[Question] The government council, in contravention of the lines drafted by the Regional Planning Committee reduced the possibility of operations run by independent farmers to resort massively to public financing. How do you assess this decision?

[Answer] The planning committee introduced the principle that in budget appropriations directed to increasing the activity of individual agricultural enterprises, a certain sum be earmarked exclusively for owner-occupier organizations.

This was done to meet a need which had become clear for some time because the concept of preference--also stated legislatively in favor of small and medium enterprises--had not produced any result because it was difficult to apply.

In approving the draft regional agricultural program, the government council, among other things, approved the general criteria for the allocation of public expenditures, introducing the principle that they would guarantee--for the benefit of agricultural workers partially employed in the processing of their own land as well as for the benefit of independent farm enterprises with preferential associational forms--an amount not to exceed 50 percent of appropriations authorized by national and regional legislation including financing for favorable agrarian credit.

Any comment appears superfluous since the way the criterion was approved--setting a maximum limit--leads to effects contrary to those that the council surely wanted to achieve. This leads to the belief that there was a typing error. We believe it is necessary to return to the text as approved by the planning committee.

[Question] Over the past 5 years, the regional administration appropriated large sums for agriculture. But the agrarian policy overall, first of all legislative aid, has seemed to many to be spotty, lacking in imagination, in some cases aimed at patronage more than at development. How much truth is there in these statements?

[Answer] The answer to the question you pose is contained in part in what we have already said. That is, lack of discipline in access to benefits permitted under agricultural legislation puts some categories, such as the small farmers, in a situation of inferiority for several reasons that can easily be guessed at.

Lack of planning in the agricultural sector necessarily produces implementation that is always spotty, at times utilitarian in the negative meaning, and in any case with limited objectives and greatly restricted possibilities. We were the promoters of valid technical-economic aid in the sector of technical assistance which, however, has not succeeded in being started.

We hope it will be possible soon to count on an efficient service to handle tasks and responsibilities which so far have had no status whatever in Sicily.

[Question] Greater productivity is hampered by many problems. What are the thorns in the side of agriculture as far as the independent farmers are concerned?

[Answer] Posed in that way, the question goes beyond the limits and possibilities of the region. In fact, there are the problems of the European Common Market which remain unsolved and those of the costs of industrial production (machinery, fertilizer, electrical energy, etc.). There are problems of decreased viability, those of water for irrigation of an additional 300,000 hectares of land, those involving the settlement of land problems, and other difficulties that have not yet been overcome.

However, all this leads us to think that higher Sicilian production necessarily would involve a series of problems that from time to time emerge and create situations of crisis as soon as, for one reason or another, production exceeds a certain percentage.

It is the market of absorption, whose expansion is subject to strict rules, which most often constitutes the thorn in the side of our agricultural economy.

[Question] Now it is well known to everyone. The problem is not only that of producing more. It is also necessary to sell the products. Regarding commercialization many things, perhaps too many, are left to chance. The region itself does not seem very concerned about marketing products. Why? What should be done?

[Answer] In effect, the cardinal problem remains that of producing more but principally that of selling better: That is, the problem of being able to acquire a certain part of the market and to adopt all expedients. Some years ago, the regional administration began a policy of support in this direction. Foresighted regional legislation had given it the authority to build sales outlets outside the island territory to be made available to individual businessmen and business associations so that they would use them in the most sensitive consumer markets.

Other laws facilitated the transportation of our agricultural products in order to put them in the same conditions as similar products from central Italy.

They were attempts, some of which did not even reach practical implementation. In any case, at one time there was a clarification of the need to be concerned with marketing products, which, let it be clear, is the principal condition for a discussion of increased production. We believe that at least as regards transportation, the region today has the duty of intervening to permit our products to be compensated for the higher cost represented by greater distance from the consumer market.

Finally, we also would like to repeat what has been said but never implemented: That is, that the increase in consumer markets for agricultural products can be achieved by industrial use of the products themselves. We realize the difficulties which, however, are not inferior when dealing with other sectors of industry which benefit from aid that is much greater than provided for agriculture.

[Question] For some time in the Sicilian farmlands, the usual productive systems have been used. It seems that there is a brake on imagination. What else can be produced in Sicily? What new instruments can be used to produce more and better?

[Answer] Agriculture is fundamentally the use of technical means guided by economic results. Imagination in general is of little use. However, we believe that it would be of great help to adequately increase demonstration activity and the acclimatization of plants and cultures already experimented with in the national territory or abroad. This is a task we believe must be carried out by various technical aid centers if, as we hope, some specialized ones should be created.

[Question] It has been said for some time that the small farmer cannot enter the present market reality. But it is also true that in many cases cooperation has not yielded the results hoped for. Then what is the solution to this impasse? Must the large enterprises once again be favored?

[Answer] Fundamental economic laws cannot be changed and much less by the small farmer, who today is considered a businessman, who nevertheless can authoritatively be present in the consumer market through the most modern and qualified sales organizations as are the producer associations.

Coldiretti [Regional Federation of Owner-Occupier Farmers] has already moved in this direction and has established associations in almost all sectors of production with the preexisting cooperatives as members. EEC legislation and economic laws are favorable to the development of these organizations which have already--especially in the citrus fruit and olive sectors--yielded concrete economic results that protected the interests of members.

[4 Sep 80 p 12]

[Interview with Regional Director for Economic Planning Giovanni Epifanio]

[Text] Our survey of Sicilian agriculture ends with today's interview. All the interviews put the main accent on the need for planning to avoid waste and patronage and to adopt new productive processes which would increase the kind of production that can easily be placed on the market. Therefore, this last article is dedicated to the problem of planning. Speaking on this subject is Dr Giovanni Epifanio, regional director for economic planning.

[Question] How important is Sicilian agriculture? Is planning alone in this sector sufficient to encourage development?

[Answer] A few facts are sufficient to give a picture of the structure of Sicilian agriculture, but one seems to me particularly important because it emphasizes the interrelationships that tie this sector to all the other aspects of regional social-economic reality. This strictly affects events and evolution: Agriculture contributes to regional income to a much higher degree than national agriculture to national income while industry participates to a clearly inferior degree. Thus a sharecropping situation exists which under these conditions is certainly no index of progress but rather an anomalous outlet for much entrepreneurial and labor potential.

And the additional facts that can be added, and the considerations that can emerge in order to better represent the regional agricultural picture and its quantitative and qualitative relationships with other sectors (facts and considerations dealt with from various points of view in the interviews published by *GIORNALE DI SICILIA*) are not likely to add other factors to the formation of a basic conviction: That the agricultural problem in our region cannot only be dealt with within that sector ignoring the more general complex reality into which it fits.

Therefore, specific assessments on the subjects of agricultural planning in Sicily must be considered within the framework of this reasoning. In this way there can be a beginning of that reorganization, coordination and overall --and not contingent--final action concerning aid to agriculture (regionally, nationally and locally) requested from every quarter, which in recent years has constituted an affirmed political commitment.

[Question] But where are we now? What has been done until today? What are the limits and positive aspects of the lines of planning already outlined? Specifically, it is said that the government council, in approving the draft of the regional agricultural plan, penalized independent farmers as regards access to public financing.

[Answer] I believe that the positive fact must be pointed out that agriculture is the prime sector for which planning is being carried out in conformity--even from the point of view of legal title and procedure (and this is not a secondary matter!)--with prescriptions contained in Law No 16. The planning committee in recent months described the outline of the Sicilian agricultural plan for the approval of the government council and is now defining, as a development of that outline, the programs that relate to the single subsectors.

I should like to dwell on this positive aspect in order to nourish the hope that it can result in an improvement of planning method. In fact, the polemics you refer to--independently of their justification in the conception of positions and solutions which can always evolve and be adjusted--could, I think, realistically be overcome by observed progress on the road to planning.

But there will really have been progress if in the meanwhile the programs being defined will anticipate all the actions and all the expenditures that can be planned for agriculture (and not only some of them): Those contained in the quadrifoglio [agricultural] law and if that commitment is adhered to by all and if this is effective beginning with the next multiyear budget from 1981 to 1983. While awaiting the socioeconomic development plan, this could represent, even though within certain limits, a general frame of reference.

[Question] But what does sector planning mean for Sicily?

[Answer] The placement of planning in agriculture within the institutional cellular structure of regional planning and, therefore, in a multiyear budget that would be conceived within the framework, and as an instrument, of planning, will be of particular importance if it is carried out in its more general aspects.

So-called sector planning in reality is by definition dangerous for the less developed lands and sectors (and therefore for the south and for agriculture, in the Italian case) to the extent that naturally it is used to favor problems of the economic cycle over those of structure; these, instead, by definition cannot be dealt with without dealing with the intersectorial references.

Obviously, I refer to that sector planning, or even infrasectorial planning (for the food industry, for the grape and wine industry, for transportation, or for research, etc.) which has been taking hold in our country and even in our region in the absence of, or even in disregard for a general frame of reference, of objectives and strategies of overall development, only in respect of which could there be adequate development of a sectorial or even territorial articulation.

Instead, sector programming, in the sense in which it has been understood, necessarily results in favoring what exists where it is and how it is, as a rationalization or, at best as an internal development of an already well-defined and well-differentiated structure. It certainly does not favor southern and Sicilian agriculture whose conditions of development inferior to that of the Po Valley, or the center or northeast of the peninsula, derive from well-known historical events that certainly were not significantly modified in their effects by policies of goodwill in recent decades and that certainly cannot be modified only on the basis of rationalization.

And this independently of some specific positive results that certainly have been achieved.

[Question] How should the discussion of the centrality of agriculture be presented?

[Answer] The theme of (national and regional) planning, of true planning without equivocal descriptive phrases and without nominalistic pretense, is the necessary introduction to any discussion of agriculture. Only internally can there be for Sicily a "centrality" of agriculture, to be understood more appropriately as "essentiality" in a country which must face a deficit in the agricultural food budget which is inferior only to that of petroleum products, but with perhaps more serious effects from the point of view of the general economy, since its effects are felt almost exclusively on domestic final consumption.

Therefore, "centrality" to be understood as "essentiality," in a correct intersectorial relationship, above all with an industry that does not prevaricate, which can be helped in solving one of its structural needs which is that of broadening the production base.

The regional agricultural plan raises the subject of its relationship with industry and matters of a marketing and promotion organization, but it cannot certainly deal with them because of its sectorial nature.

[Question] Do you believe the need for planning is felt?

[Answer] There is a very strong demand, largely unconscious, in our country today for planning at a time when there is a demand for good government, structural reforms, for abandonment of special interests and also of a constant finalization of public aid. It would be a serious error not to be aware of it or even to betray it, as it would be an error and an ineffective act not to accompany it with clear specificity.

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## GOVERNMENT APPARATUS INEFFECTUAL, REORGANIZATION NEEDED

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 27 Sep 80 pp 24-27

[Report of interview with Hans Gruijters by Hans G.J. Pot]

[Text] The government announces that it means to cut back, economize, weigh priorities, reorganize--all that in and with an extensive management staff that it has at its disposal.

The postwar reconstruction of a ruined Netherlands was accomplished with and under exactly half as big a government apparatus, yet those turned out to be the years of forceful government and action in the Netherlands. Could we not get along with somewhat less now, too?

Does the Netherlands really need 32 cabinet officials--16 ministers and 16 secretaries of state--for an effective government, or are the shortcomings to be blamed precisely on the endless palaver among too many decision-makers at the cabinet meetings? According to former minister Gruijters, to whom ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE addressed this searching question, the present patchwork of ministries could be drastically cleaned up, reorganized, and trimmed down. And that would have to be done to put an end to the lack of decisiveness and effectiveness due to a fragmented management. But will that happen? Gruijters does not believe so.

Our little country is governed by a great government. Great perhaps not so much in power to act as in numbers; in that respect the Netherlands does not take second place to any of the big countries. But as the Dutch government team has expanded over the years to 16 ministers and 16 secretaries of state, the management of our country does not appear to have become more efficient and quick to act. In the cabinet formations of recent years the steady process of expansion by the creation of new, additional posts seems to have served not so much the national interest as the need for "rewards" in the political parties' game of musical chairs. And the same can be said of the subsequent growth of additional official

staffs. Now, forced by the escalated financial crisis, in the budget bill for 1981 the government speaks more firmly than before of the necessity of structural changes in public spending and of the necessity of returning to a stringent budget policy. In that connection, according to Minister of Finance Van der Stee, a further cutback in public spending cannot be avoided. And he also announces: "In order to make possible a good weighing of priorities among the different fields of government, a discussion procedure cast in an operational mold will be developed..." etc.

That makes the question timely again--there have been pleas in the past (9 years ago by the Van Veen Committee) for trimming the cabinet down to a more effective size--whether the government of the Netherlands is not badly in need of a drastic reorganization, of a meaningful, rational reduction in the size of the team of ministers. This is in the interest of a) a more effective conduct of government and b) a more efficient and, in the long run, less costly official staff. The question seems more timely now that the prelude to the next round of elections and cabinet formation are warming up, and present and future cabinet officials and political leaders could show how serious they are in talking about "structural adjustment" and "reorganization of public spending."

One man who has an outspoken opinion on this question is ex minister Hans Gruijters, now mayor of Lelystad. ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE asked this experienced ex-politician (member of D'66 [Democrats '66]): If you were now in a position to rearrange the whole thing, to begin anew with AF [expansion unknown], what would you consider the minimum number of ministries necessary and appropriate for governing the country? Gruijters's answer is unpolitically clear: 10, including the post of prime minister.

Gruijters supports and justifies his conclusion as follows: "My opinion that fewer ministries are needed is not motivated primarily by possibilities of savings. I do think that by governing more efficiently you also govern more economically in the long run. Nor do I in this connection go along with the hue and cry about top salaries. I understand quite well that from the point of view of overall social policy there is a desire to reduce the salaries of top officials somewhat, because even small incomes are being encroached on. But I worry about whether in that case you would continue in the long run to get good people at the top of the ministries. Smaller caliber does not necessarily mean cheaper.

"I have experienced as a minister myself how heavily the top officials are burdened, how much is demanded of those people. I know that their highest compensation does not lie in what they earn, for that is still always less than in comparable positions in the economy. Their highest compensation lies in the feeling that they are keeping the national government going; that they are introducing improvements; that they are accomplishing something. In general they are extremely well-motivated people. Otherwise they could not cope with so much work. But if besides everything else they also had to scrimp somewhat on personal finances, they might just throw up the whole thing.

"I do not really expect savings from that. The problem does not really lie in the fact that we could get along with fewer top officials. The top echelon of the ministries could well use some strengthening here and there, especially in staff posts such as advisers, counselors, investigators, etc. Their trouble is thus not a great overabundance in that line. The real government problem in The Hague is that the conduct of government--the management--is too much fragmented. Too many separate posts have been established, call them satrapies, that all have their own interests.

"I have seen, for example, how disastrous the separate Ministry of Public Health and Environment was. Environmental hygiene followed an entirely separate course of its own, while physical planning--to which "the environment" had been subordinated in practice--also had a course of its own. At the very least that sort of pig-headedness should not be tolerated. Those things belong in one hand. Another example: all those disputes between the ministries of social affairs and economic affairs. The Ministry of Economic Affairs is practically forced in the direction of being the representative of the employers, and the Ministry of Social Affairs--regardless of who the minister may be--is forced to be the protector of the interests of the unions. The ministers thus become a sort of extension of the social special interest groups. Precisely at the government level you need to have one ministry that is particularly responsible for prices, including the price of labor.

"Please understand--what I envision is not a sort of core cabinet, but a cabinet of a more limited number of ministers under a prime minister, preferably elected, who in my view should be given greater weight. And with secretaries of state to be selected by the minister himself, who function as underministers, as the minister's most important aides, not off their own political hat but completely and loyally within the policy framework established by the minister. Those underministers may defend a piece of their minister's political line in parliament, but in principle they have no access to cabinet meetings. Such access should be restricted to the prime minister and his nine ministers and nobody else.

"The important thing is the smooth, fast implementation of policy that would be restored by such a reorganization. For it has gotten to be simply pitiful in the so-called cabinet meetings. All those mutual squabbles, all those jurisdictional quarrels would be reduced by a reform such as I have outlined to disputes between ministries. There will still be disputes between the expanded departments, but then there will be just one man--the minister and no longer his colleague--who says, 'Look, my friend, with the course you have just laid out you may have difficulty with Mr (secretary of state or underminister) of physical planning, but just come to me with it and we'll do it this way! And I have got this policy in my head, and that means that this time you are right and he is not.' Or, in another case, 'I will carry out this compromise.' And in still another case, 'I say that you are going to have to do your work all over again.'

"In my concept the minister thus decides himself in all questions between his secretaries of state, and such questions no longer have to be taken to the council of ministers as endless points of discussion. I have been present at that kind of palavers between quarreling secretaries of state in cabinet meetings, sometimes for hours. It was a great irritation to me. With the creation of all those ministers' posts and all those secretaries of state the management of the country has become too much fragmented, and because of the time-consuming 'coordination' process in the council of ministers it has become impossible to react and advise effectively. I am of the opinion that all decision-making at the highest level now goes much too slowly in the Netherlands. We do not adjust quickly enough to changing circumstances.

"I am also of the opinion that this cabinet is less effective than the preceding one. That is due to the political philosophy and to persons, to the make-up of the cabinet. But even the previous cabinet--although Joop den Uyl knew how to keep the train under steam in spite of everything--had to contend with this problem of fragmentation of authority. I have seen it work myself; it worked too slowly, too ineffectually, because there was too broad a field in which there had to be 'coordination'; i.e., in which it was necessary to reach an agreement by lengthy palavering. And there is no time for that; circumstances are passing us by. Then we react--after having finally solved our coordination problems--to the situation as it was yesterday. By then we have no time to take account of the situation tomorrow, since we do not yet know how it looks today. We also get politically inbred; we get completely fascinated with the internal political squabbles; we no longer exert any influence on the outside world."

The why of Gruijters's argument for reorganization of the Dutch government team is now clear, but the how is at least as interesting.

Gruijters: "In my concept a streamlined cabinet after regrouping and concentration of ministries looks approximately this way: You keep the prime minister's Ministry of General Affairs, of course, for general policy guidelines. You also keep the basic ministries of foreign affairs (but no longer with an underminister for development aid), internal affairs, defense (there is no way out of that because of NATO commitments), justice, and finance (cardinal functions: revenue raising and budget control over all the other ministries).

"The wage and job market policy is taken from the Ministry of Social Affairs and put under the Ministry of Economic Affairs, where applied science--or say technology and innovation--is also placed; this combined package of functions (with underministers for different policy areas) becomes the Ministry of Economic and Labor Affairs. Agriculture is also put under this ministry, for it is, after all, also a part of our economy.

"Public health is put with the rest of social affairs, which becomes responsible for implementation of all social legislation. Relief legislation

is also taken from CRM (Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work) and added to this--as I should like to call it--Ministry of Social Welfare and Public Health. Culture and education (formerly education, arts and sciences constituted a single department) I should like to recombine, with the universities and pure scientific research institutions under it. We thus get the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science Policy.

"Then a very large ministry: the Ministry of Land Management. In it should be combined all matters that have to do with management of land: public housing, zoning, protection of nature, environmental hygiene, and transport and waterways. You might then need three or perhaps four underministers for the important component parts. But all of them under one minister, who sees to it that knots are cut and has the final word in any differences of views and policy wishes. And prevents any squabbles from having to be settled in cabinet meetings. This minister is thus entrusted with all policy concerning land management; that is *his* jurisdiction. No more endless 'coordination' of divergent standpoints, but regular decisive control. That is the best remedy--put one head over it who is decisive when that is necessary and can come into cabinet meetings with one opinion. Naturally--in my concept--the ministers must keep their policy decisions within the main lines of government policy laid down by the prime minister.

"In this concept we get rid of several unnecessary separate ministries: first of all the two present ministers without portfolio--science policy and development aid. Then you get rid of agriculture, retaining a separate underminister in EZ (the Ministry of Economic Affairs) for agricultural affairs, which have to do primarily with the EC. We get rid of that parasitic plant CRM. And finally environmental hygiene and public health, transport and waterways. The ministerial team is reduced from 16 to 10 including the prime minister.

"The exercise of the component functions must be considered very rationally within the ministries into which the now existing portfolios have been merged. It will depend on the minister in each case, by ministry and term of office, which of the various component functions he will exercise himself and which he will entrust to underministers. The underministers may have a political orientation of their own, all right, but if so it must be one that, as far as practical conduct is concerned, is on the same track as that of the responsible minister."

The reorganization scheme that Gruijters envisions looks very radical. A great deal of the rampant growth of additional ministry staff divisions--a variety of general service staff divisions, growing up around each new minister's post and secretary of state's post, for which the political musical chairs of cabinet formations are responsible--could be gradually pruned away by reconcentration. Although "economy" is not the first or most important objective of such a slenderizing effort, it might result in some whittling away in a government effort to "reorganize and reweigh public missions and expenditures."

will it ever come about? Gruijters has grave doubts about that. Grown wise from experience in the play of political forces, he believes this: "The only way to get such a thing accomplished is to put it through right at the time of a cabinet formation.

"Then somebody would have to have the courage to put the question on the agenda. But then he would promptly fall on his face. The cabinet-former who dared to come forward with such a drastic reorganization proposal would be politically burnt out next day. Do you really think that a Labor Party and a CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] would content themselves with four ministers' posts each and with underministers' jobs that would no longer have so much political value? Come, now! Then there would be great squabbles within those parties, for they have got many more candidates that have to be 'rewarded.'

"Do you know what would happen again in reality? Suppose the most acceptable coalition combination turns out to be CDA-PvdA [Labor Party]-D'66, based on, say, 45-45-20 seats in parliament.

"Then it will not be left at 16 ministers' posts, but raised to 17 so that each of the partners will get its dues: 7-7-3. A Vonhoff Commission is now studying the possibilities of government reorganization, but of course it will not be through before the next elections. And even if it were, what would be done with the possible recommendations? Just as little as was done in the past with the findings of the commission on constitutional revision (of which I was a member). Just try it, just ask people like Terlouw, Lubbers, Vonhoff--people that appear to be open to such a proposal--what they think of it. They will probably say: A very interesting idea. We shall have to think about that. And then...? Well, if you manage to make a great commotion with that published proposal, at the next cabinet formation they will form a government of 17 ministers and assign it the task of having an investigation **done** of the possibilities of restricting the government team. Commission Number Umpteen."

It is really too bad that what in principle sounds rational and sensible in the line of government slogans concerning "reweighing," "reorganization," "cutbacks," etc., must in fact be called "untenable" because of the politically established game of musical chairs for power and for government careers. Gruijters laughs somewhat bitterly as a comment on our sighs, "Oh, well, such is life. There are a lot of nice things that don't happen."

## VAN AGT INTERVIEWED ON PARTY POLITICS, DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 20 Sep 80 pp 14-19

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Andries A.M. van Agt by contributor Dieudonnee ten Berge: "Exclusive Interview with Prime Minister Van Agt: 'No One Would Have Done Better than We Have'"; date of interview not given]

[Text] "In the Netherlands there is an atmosphere of envy, contention and rivalry," says Prime Minister Andries A.M. van Agt in a discussion with our contributor Dieudonnee ten Berge. In the first long interview the prime minister has given in some years, he gives his opinion on the opposition, the CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal], the range of social support of this cabinet, and the role of the labor movement.

See Front Cover

"I am willing to claim that no one would have done better than we have. If you look at the gigantic problems we are facing and the possibilities we have, then I say: this policy is not bad at all. I'd have to see another cabinet do better. During the past years the impression has continually been created that this country's economic problems would be solved in no time at all with a different coalition. When political and social leaders give information on what is going on, they very often fail to admit that it is a matter of an enormous structural problem which is not limited to the Netherlands. In reality it concerns the whole of Western Europe."

Prime Minister Van Agt talks about the condition of the Dutch economy which "is much more serious than many realize." Most countries have a balance of payment deficit as a result of the strongly increased oil prices. In 1976 we estimated a surplus of 7 to 8 billion [guilders] on our balance of payment for 1980. But the latest figures show that in spite of natural gas we will have a deficit of 7 to 8 billion this year. "To realize that gives you a chill," says Van Agt.

We also have been too optimistic about the economic growth. That decreased rapidly from 3 3/4 percent when the cabinet started to 0 percent now.

But while the economic growth decreased steadily, the people's purchasing power nevertheless continued to increase. We started to live heavily beyond our means. As Minister [of Finance] Van der Stee said in his explanation on the budget: "The consequences were bound to come. Not the wage earners, but industrial profits, investments and work opportunity had to foot the bill. Now all of this is finding expression in unemployment which is increasing to record heights."

Thus a very gloomy picture. A gloominess which has nothing to do with party-political shuffling. The facts speak for themselves. The political and social leaders of whom the prime minister spoke did not prove to be capable of coming up with a credible alternative either. The Labor Party, although the biggest election winner, came up with a zig-zag policy to tackle the malaise. Economists from their own circle flout the course of first a little bit of wage curbing, then staking everything on work opportunity in the fourth sector, and when the bankruptcy of that has been demonstrated, back again to wage curbing. Den Uyl often talked about a "different policy." Obviously it was not convincing.

The same is true for the union movement. First the union economists who prescribed the concept of moderation were charged with heresy, later they were rehabilitated. But the genie had already left the bottle and even a changed Arie Groenevelt couldn't get it back in.

"Of course the union leaders have a tremendous problem," says Van Agt. "I'll give just any example. The CNV [National Federation of Christian Workers in the Netherlands] is limited in its possibilities by the attitude of the FNV [Netherlands Trade Union Federation]. The FNV is conditioned to moderation in its possibilities by organizations which are controlled by the CPN [Communist Party of the Netherlands]. Naturally the picture is much more complicated than the brief outline I am giving, but still, that is what it amounts to. Everyone knows that the CPN controls the ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam and in that manner it propels the FNV unions. Then the FNV unions can hardly afford to mutually produce strongly differing results from the negotiations in their branches of industry. Another factor is that we are such a small country. Everyone is looking in on everyone else and knows exactly how things are going with the other one. That doesn't promote a differentiated income policy for each branch of industry, while that really ought to be the case." Thus the union is a prisoner of its own following. When recently the cabinet came up with a moderation on social benefits, the reaction of a prominent union leader was: "Of course it is necessary, but I can't tell my people that. That would cost us thousands of members."

As soon as the Van Agt Cabinet took office, a new word originated in politics: /range of social support/ [in italics]. This cabinet, relying on 77 seats in the Second Chamber, supposedly does not have enough support and respect among "the people of the country" to tackle the serious problems. It still is Wim Kok's principal argument in fighting Van Agt.

The prime minister: "I never really saw it that way. On the contrary, I often travel through the country, attend political meetings, etc. Then I notice that very many people who belong to a social organization such as a trade union, say, think and want something entirely different from what their leaders proclaim so loudly. There is a big difference between them."

There appear to be two circles. "What is said in the inner circle of the Binnenhof [parliament buildings] often is completely different from what is thought in the country." Van Agt sometimes tries to break through that circle. "They call me a populist, someone who goes directly to the people, who is disdainful of social organizations, even of parliament. A dangerous lordship with whom it is bad to associate. Thus it is risky for me to say it, but I still think that politicians must explain matters more directly, more clearly and more effectively to the people outside of The Hague."

That is indeed necessary, for although the cabinet is preaching economic gloom, people hardly seem to be impressed by it.

"Fortunately the consequences of the increasing unemployment do not translate themselves into poverty, destitution and penury. Just to give an example: the tourist balance for 1980 is more negative than ever, the expenditures for tourism abroad are sky-high. Our system of social security cloaks, as it were, the economic distress. He who becomes unemployed gets 80 percent of his salary or more and many from that group do some moonlighting besides. That is of course a very important factor."

Moreover, another phenomenon is at issue. There is an increasing tendency to shift the responsibility for oneself and for others to society. "The state will take care of it," is becoming a proverbial saying. If one doesn't do anything about wages and thus about benefits, doesn't one, as government, cooperate in the rotting of the welfare state? Then isn't one forced to act by regulating?

Van Agt: "That awakening of consciousness is indeed hampered by our system. Nevertheless, I think that when there is an acceleration in the trend we are experiencing now -- company closings, great unemployment, etc. -- when the reports of disaster succeed each other rapidly, then people will realize what is happening."

Van Agt thinks that the coupling of wages and benefits must stay. Therefore: "The measure par excellence is a truly bold wage moderation. That cannot be repeated enough. If wages and other incomes were to come out a few percent lower, then that would have very drastic consequences for the total of social benefits and for the total of expenditures for civil servant salaries, etc. Within a few years the economic problems, no matter how serious they are, could be completely surmounted by pushing through a wage moderation of a few percent for say about 5 years. That is enough."

The cabinet is opting for a premium increase this year. The state contribution to the social funds is pushed back from sheer necessity. In itself that could be a psychological means to make people realize the price for the package they are being offered.

"That was not the central motive. Definitely not. But I admit, it is a problem of the first order. It is becoming more and more difficult to gain an insight into what our system of social security costs. Until now the taxpayer has helped pay the entire package because the government continually increased its contributions to the funds from which the provisions were paid. But something strange is happening, of course. The number of people who are now utilizing the benefits is many times greater than the planners of the system suspected in the sixties. Of course that is because of the worsening of the economy. But it is also because there are a number of people who pretend to be entitled to the provisions, whereas in fact that is not the case. To say this already makes one suspect in some circles. But ministers also react to this like normal people; one hears daily from more sides that improper use is being made of the provisions. One would think that the subject of social provisions belongs to the last taboos of our society. That is incorrect. Within the gates of the Binnenhof one is hardly allowed to discuss the matter, but outside of them people talk about it commonly. I often hear from cadre members in the labor movement: You must do something about that."

Van Agt makes this statement at the very moment when an Amsterdam squatter is explaining in detail in a newspaper interview that "he would be a fool to work, because his benefits are only 30 guilders less than the salary he could potentially earn."

Van Agt: "Those benefits were never intended for that. A fellow like that victimizes others who really need it. I think that's scandalous. Fortunately that is the general feeling."

This is slippery ground for a politician. But the phenomenon in itself reminds one of the Arabic proverb: not he who cheats, but he who lets himself be cheated is to be blamed.

"In drawing up this budget, we had a look at sick leave. It shows that in 10 years time we have become twice as unhealthy. Sick leave, together with WAO [Law on Labor Disability], currently comes to 20 percent. One in five people has knocked off. But let's look at the FRG, a country with almost comparable work conditions. Sick leave there is half of ours. For a politician to say that the level of benefits has something to do with that is something like blasphemy."

But it is a fact that the level of benefits in our country amounts to around 90 percent and in the FRG 65 percent. Or, as it is put in many a municipal medical service: "Unfortunately the mentality can be changed only through the wallet."

The prime minister: "I don't like to make this sort of statement, because you are short-changing the really ill with it. The profiteers also ought to think about that."

The Van Agt Cabinet has had not only social, but also considerable political adversity. Of course one couldn't expect it to be much different, for 77 out of the 150 chamber seats is not a very thrilling majority. But adversity came not only from the opposition. The CDA government party, the party with the greatest number of ministers and secretaries of state in the cabinet -- thus the party that could put the heaviest stamp on policy -- that CDA has hampered the cabinet considerably. That was done in the socio-economic area where the parliamentary group continually was shooting holes in the government plans; that was done in other policy areas where the CDA, with a certain virtuosity, succeeded again and again in hurting the cabinet and itself to the advantage of the opposition.

The fact that the CDA parliamentary group in the second chamber was not united in that did not need to be proved. The group itself trumpeted it around. But the cabinet was victimized by it also. The CDA parliamentary group lacks political strategists: people who control the political game and are capable of putting the ball in the political opponent's court. Although the opposition itself was divided on many points -- a good example is the question of modernization of NATO nuclear arms -- the CDA seemed to experience sheer pleasure in putting such an emphasis on its own problems that the division in the opposition camp remained hidden and the CDA got stuck with the pieces. The CDA gave the impression it would rather bleed than lead.

Prime Minister Van Agt: "Of course the CDA made it very difficult for its own people through that internal quarreling. Through displaying it and continuing with it through the years. One incident hadn't finished yet when the next announced itself. Then you are gradually asking too much of the patience and the faith of a number of people."

Van Agt assumes that the worst misery will be over after the fusion of the three Christian parties into one CDA on 11 October: "The problems surely will decrease in intensity then. The CDA can still make up for much of the damage before the elections. I hope and trust that after 11 October the CDA parliamentary group in the Second Chamber will be freed of a phobia. The fusion of the three christian democratic parties has not alleviated the problems for this cabinet. There was so much internal uncertainty, so much need simultaneously to reach certainty and unity, that lightning rods were needed on which to work out the frustrations. Sometimes the cabinet apparently had to fulfill the function of such a lightning rod. Therefore one could say that this cabinet has been a blessing for the CDA."

Naturally the question does remain of whether the CDA-VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy] coalition has failed.

"I think that the CDA-VVD combination made it difficult for the voters in some respects. Because we have never stated in clear terms how serious the problems are which the country is facing and what we want to do about them. Nevertheless, I am still saying: 'Specifications '81 was a good document.' That is obvious also now because, as known, it is now considered too little in the CDA circle itself. You have to go through something like that patiently. But we have never come to the people with a message. We struggled and labored in the intimacy of the Catshuis [ministerial offices]. This cabinet has pursued the least poor policy that could be pursued. We did the best we could with it."

All in all, the election polls now show that possibly the CDA and VVD might not achieve a majority in the coming elections for the Second Chamber. Both parties stand to lose. The great winner is D'66 [Democrats '66], for the socialism of the Labor Party doesn't turn out to be the alternative to a cabinet of a christian democrat/liberal cut. The Labor Party also stands to lose. Big numbers of voters feel drawn to Terlouw's party [D'66], although that party has never really made clear exactly what the solutions are for the problems with which our country is faced.

The prime minister: "D'66 is courtly in form, but offers little support. What clothes is the emperor wearing? Occasionally they label themselves as a progressive group. Not long ago they were the promoters of a progressive people's party. The qualifier /progressive/ [in italics], although less desirable than in earlier years, is still used as a title of honor. But at the same time they label themselves as a liberal current. To be called Christian Democrats, be it without the capital C, is not bad either in their eyes. And they let themselves be assigned a middle-position which is comfortable and offers some prospect. But meanwhile D'66 is still not giving any clear judgment on the central points of the policy to be pursued. Clear insights apparently are lacking as to the content of such judgments.

Van Agt clearly sees D'66 as an opposition party. Except on two points: the democrats voted in favor of the wage measure and they submitted a motion on eliminating the cost-of-living compensation for fuel price increases. The motion was adopted but could not yet be implemented because the social groups are against it. Very regrettable, according to the prime minister, for that elimination is needed very badly.

Except for those two points, however, D'66 has been an opposition party, just as the PvdA has been. The two parties have carried out that opposition very differently, certainly with respect to form. The PvdA fought the cabinet tooth and nail and openly. D'66, also opposed to the policy, wrapped its criticism in neatness and decency. Apparently voters prefer that approach, as witnessed by the opinion polls and the gain in them by D'66 and the loss by the PvdA. Which form does Van Agt prefer?

"I prefer the bare knuckles approach of the PvdA to the velvet glove of D'66.

During practically every clash between the opposition and the government, the PvdA says what the basic issue is in their opinion. Only, the problem is that what they themselves proclaim at one encounter is not in agreement with what they proclaim in a later meeting. They change their standpoint quite often. But in any event they are opposed, and you know where you stand. You know what the discussion is about. And as to the D'66 members: they usually have debates without hard political conclusions. And isn't it the conclusions on which a parliamentary discussion has to take action? Indeed, it yields them something, yes, the haven between the cabinet and the PvdA opposition. I also think that a potential run of voters to that party is more a proof of no longer knowing what to do about the three largest parties than of profound faith in the fourth."

That hesitation in the voters, the no longer believing in the old parties but certainly not having converted to the new one, is characteristic for a period in which people don't know what ideals they should choose. The budget of Social Affairs also alludes to it: there is no longer a common objective. Such as the fighting against the enemy in the war, and after the war the working together for reconstruction and prosperity. Not much like that is left. There is peace and prosperity. The people have almost everything they want. A new challenge is needed. Something for which the people are willing to get together. The cabinet sees the problem. Also the solution?

The prime minister: "At the risk of being called unrealistic: I think that we -- as was also said in the Queen's Speech on Tuesday -- that we should put our problems in the perspective of what is happening in the world. The sharing of prosperity and well-being. That is something for which I could go out into the field as a missionary, and which indeed I shall do. The little discussions here, the problems we think exist here, are non-problems, are non-existent, futile and even ridiculous in the light of what is going on in world-wide relations at present. The world will reach the second half of the next century only by a thorough reform of the world-wide socio-economic system. Humanity will no longer survive, unless . . . It all has to do with /to be or not to be for mankind/[printed in English]. But it is also relevant because it puts our own set of problems into perspective. It is a story which makes an impact. And justly so. It is one of the keys for the solution of the central questions: how do you bring the people a message which is capable of arousing new idealism? New belief and faith that it is worthwhile to get together? And that it is worthwhile to vote for a christian democratic party? Millions of children are dying because they don't have food. They die miserably. Then one really ought to scream. I cannot do it alone. We all have to do it together. But this is the story, and not all that bellyaching here about what number comes after what decimal point."

Thus this country ought to put its politics, its prosperity in the service of that ideal?

"Yes. Not a new idea in itself: Hans van Mierlo already talked about a world-wide assistance law in the sixties. That dealt with essential matters. But to return to the problems here; if that spark jumps across, people will be more willing to get together. Then we can tackle the problems here also. The message is so gripping that it should be possible to touch people with it. And then our problems will be relatively so minor that we can surmount them. Yes, I also think that it can function as a certain liberation when the people see an ideal that will free them from the atmosphere which now dominates the social climate in the Netherlands. The atmosphere of envy, contention and rivalry."

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## MERGER OF ANTIREVOLUTIONARY PARTY WITH CDA DISCUSSED

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 27 Sep 80 pp 52-54

[Article by Pleudonné ten Berge: "The ARP Goes Down Fighting"]

[Text] Will the Antirevolutionary Party break away just before it is dissolved? Like two apostles, Bob Goudzwaard, professor at the VU [Free University], and Von Meijenfeldt, former commandant of KMA [Royal Military Academy], are trying to recruit supporters for what they regard as their mission: to save the ARF [Antirevolutionary Party] from the CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] monster.

"If a few of the party's members of parliament will go along, the party will still break away before 11 October," says a member of the AR party central committee, which maintains close contact with Goudzwaard. Jan van Houwelingen, Willem de Kwaadsteniet, and Hans de Boer are the members of the Second Chamber that Goudzwaard has on his list of supporters. And Willem Aantjes, of course. According to Goudzwaard's calculations, with a party of their own they can count on coming out of the elections to the Second Chamber with five or six seats. "But what can you do then?" says our source. "Chain yourselves, all six of you, to the nuclear power plant in Dodewaard, put your arms around each other, and sing hymns? I do not see it that way."

do Aantjes and the three Second Chamber members, apparently. They do not give the impression of putting their political lives in the hands of the Amsterdam professor. "Oh, the party will not break loose so quickly," says the AR central committeeman. "We can see that a w élitist witness party would lead to nothing. Goudzwaard has committed political suicide. At most there may be a sort of AR study group within the CDA. That may very well happen. And on Saturday [27 September], of course, many words of warning that we must still, above everything else, remain the leaven."

On Saturday 27 September the Antirevolutionary Party will officially dissolve, at the RAI [Bicycle and Automobile Manufacturers Association]

Congress center in Amsterdam. Then on 11 October in The Hague comes the celebration of brotherhood with the KVP [Catholic People's Party] and the CHU [Christian Historical Union], the fusion into the one and indivisible Christian Democratic Appeal.

That means the end of the oldest party in the Netherlands. Last year the Antirevolutionaries celebrated, not exactly soberly, their 100 years' existence. The party treasury was well filled, and to turn everything over to the new club seemed to them to be going too far, especially as the KVP and CHU had brought along practically no dowry.

Undoubtedly the ARP has great influence on what happens in Dutch politics. Even now, in the last days of its existence, the ARP is a grouping that has to be seriously taken into account. That influence, then and now, the ARP'ers do not owe to a kind of natural modesty. For that virtue is alien to them. They regard themselves as the vertebrae that form the backbone of the country. Article 1 of the statutes reads in part, "The Antirevolutionary movement represents the keynote of our national character." That takes nerve in a country where the overwhelming majority think otherwise.

But that defiance and that self-assurance have given the ARP an influence that is much greater than their numbers. Wim Kan expressed it this way: "At bottom we are Antirevolutionary. Well, yes, a handful. But it leaves its mark on the people."

"Politics is a matter of principle," say the Antirevolutionaries. "The word of God as it comes to us in the Bible is the starting point," they say. "It is our rule of conduct." An expression recalled by Goudzwaard, once one of the party ideologists. "Christian politics cannot be a politics of goals." By this he means that a Christian politician must always ask himself whether the means he is thinking of using fit in with his Christian convictions. Goudzwaard finds in particular that the KVP puts the emphasis too much on the ends. That is his greatest objection to the CDA, which he sees as an enlarged KVP. That is why Goudzwaard, after much strife and political twisting and turning, rejected the CDA.

"Bob goes around like an ayatollah and gets people out of bed at night," says one of his entourage. "But people do not want such a fanatical profit of doom." Goudzwaard himself feels that a man with such talents as he has must not remain politically homeless. But Goudzwaard is definitely not the charismatic leader that can remove the party from the CDA contamination before 11 October. "This man is now 57 and is going through a sort of second youth," some say, in explanation of the guerrilla tactics thought out by the former general for SWAPO [Southwest African People's Organization].

From the really prominent AR people one hardly hears any remarks antagonistic to the CDA. Wil Albeda, Lou de Graaf, and Harm van der Meulen, to

name a few, already have the flowers on hand, as it were, for the October CDA celebration.

And what about Hans de Boer? "He is a first-class chairman. Efficient and all that. But he is contact-shy. He avoids the press. Except for TROUW and the NCRV [Netherlands Christian Broadcasting Association], for they are his friends. If he hears TROS [Television-Radio Broadcasting Corporation] or AVRO [General Broadcasting Association], he turns them off. He is such a strict Calvinist boy that he plays basketball on Saturdays."

To outsiders Antirevolutionaries are people who are always unexpectedly bringing up their conscience to oppose certain decisions stubbornly. An appeal to that same conscience is taken just as seriously by the Antirevolutionaries. That is why the Interchurch Peace Council, which is influential in reform circles, could have such a success among the Antirevolutionaries with its nuclear arms demonstration. Ever since the establishment of NATO the AR members have supported the NATO policy with all their heart and with no scruples. Including the ever-increasing nuclear build-up of the alliance. Now that according to the same NATO it has become necessary to replace and improve the nuclear weapons, the lights of conscience have shone red for a number of Antirevolutionaries. And with the same dogmatism with which ARP'ers formerly supported the NATO policy, that policy is now rejected because they have been unable to square it with their consciences.

The Van Agt cabinet picked up *en passant* the reproach that it had a less Christian conscience than the ARP. It is interesting what such a respected ARP member as bank president Jelle Zijlstra once said about the conscience of a politician: "You must always be doubly on your guard when politicians begin explicitly calling upon their conscience."

The same Christian conscience served in the not too distant past as a "guideline" for definitely unwholesome practices in the Dutch East Indies. The director of the scientific office of the ARP, Mr Oostlander, recently said in that connection, "Since by our Indies policy 'authority is authority and a rebel is a rebel,' with our blind rectilinearism, we brought about such unacceptable consequences, we in the ARP have been paying a little more attention to the consequences of our policy." A politics of goals after all, then. And was it not the Antirevolutionary Bauke Roolving that contrived the phrase "lead for old iron"? In other words, it makes no difference with whom you govern, PvdA or VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy], as long as you do govern. And yet the ARP is said to be "true to its principles."

Qualms of conscience have also always played a part in the origin of the CDA. A pang of conscience also constituted a motive for a handful of ARP'ers to take a position with regard to the Van Agt ~~con more~~ but as dissidents. "At that time the CDA made it hard for its own people by so much internal conflict," Prime Minister Van Agt said last week in an

ELSEVIERS interview. Indeed, the ARP did not devote itself to the ideal of the one Christian democratic party without striking a blow. CDA chairman Steenkamp once called the fusion of the three parties yet another evidence of God. The ARP, as the most troublesome boy in the class, caused the cabinet to totter four times: Urenco, the nuclear rockets, nuclear energy, and South Africa. In spite of the activities of such former ARP bosses as Colijn, which did not lead directly to uplift of the fatherland, the party has always succeeded in maintaining its image as strict, narrow, but just.

The ARP is said to be unimpeachable. When it follows conservative policy, it does so from honest conviction. But when some put on the progressive coat, that is also done with a dogmatic uprightness, as if the ARP had never thought and acted otherwise. Just as the KVP is apparently doomed to be called unreliable, the ARP never loses its image of "unimpeachable." They have no objection at all to a policy if it turns out well. The Aantjes affair was taken extremely hard in those circles and elsewhere. The leader of the unimpeachable appeared to have been, if not wrong, at least vacillating. Partly for that reason political Netherlands, with the exception of the CDA, came down hard on Aantjes. You cannot with impunity criticize others from the heights of your own excellence. That rankles, and then if the cow is found to have a speck on her she will be called piebald and will be beaten. But the ARP itself was hardly damaged by the affair; its image still stands, and Aantjes is again on the list of candidates for the coming elections.

The Antirevolutionaries pride themselves on a close tie with the House of Orange. But after the Lockheed scandal various ARP preachers were conspicuous among those who came out strong against the prince consort. Man as an extension of God's righteousness. The brethren are not of a forgiving nature. ARP'ers do not go out of their way for their own kind, and they rub that in on others mercilessly. When the Antirevolutionaries still formed a parliamentary delegation of their own, that did not always show so much.

"After Scripture reading and prayer we often faced each other with faces flushed with anger," says one delegation member. "Discussions were sometimes hard as nails, and uncharitable, too." But when the decisions were reached and the gin, the Calvinists' drink, went round, they closed ranks to face the rest of the world. The leadership of the delegation was important in this. The political leader of the ARP could count on great authority in his own circle. Now the ARP'ers are part of the CDA delegation. KVP'ers and CHU'ers still have to accustom themselves daily to their outspoken technique at meetings. Steef Weijers, KVP member of the Second Chamber, says, "Since 1977 we have twice had a meeting of just KVP'ers. Man, what a relief. We had forgotten how nice and pleasant it could be."

Convinced of their own rightness as ARP'ers are, it was hard to come to a general agreement within the delegation. In the larger CDA grouping it appears almost impossible. The ARP'ers still have to get used to the

different demands that a big delegation makes. It is impossible to talk things out thoroughly. Moreover, too great a readiness to join in a compromise is regarded in ARP circles as extremely suspicious. It is taken as a sign of weakness. Moreover, in Aantjes the last leader with great authority disappeared. Lubbers's leadership is well recognized, but Lubbers is definitely not the dogmatic type that is convinced of his own rightness and ready to force his views through with determination. That is another thing the Antirevolutionaries must get used to. The ARP's *éminence grise*, Member of Parliament Schakel, puts it this way: "Lubbers is so inventive that for every problem he has five or six acceptable solutions ready. But instead of choosing one of them, he stands in front of the show window gaping at all the pretty things."

Moreover, Lubbers is a KVP'er, and so from a club that is still distrusted by the ARP. Revealing in that connection was ARP leader Hans de Boer's frank reaction when KVP'er Van den Broek made an attempt to give the CDA delegation a little more discipline. "To Romans it is obviously not important what you think about a thing, once the organization gets involved. The KVP was present, mind you, when the Van Agt cabinet was formed and the loyalists expressed a reservation. But at that time they kept their mouths shut. They also kept their mouths shut during the subsequent years when we swallowed everything. It is therefore shameful for them to accuse us now of disloyalty. It is rather the other way round."

Thus there is deep distrust of Hans de Boer, ARP member of the Second Chamber, who as ARP chairman, no less, must pilot his party into the CDA. Lack of leadership, too, in the last generation of ARP'ers. A club of dogmatic fire-eaters like the ARP works optimally only when the forces are led. But without Aantjes the Antirevolutionary group within the CDA delegation appeared fairly lacking in direction. Plenty of ambitious people of firm principles, but where there was no firm hand to direct the powerful blows, splinters fell here and there, intentionally and unintentionally. The policy became less consistent and less well thought through for the long term. And just when the Christian parties--because they are always represented in the government--bear a special responsibility for a responsible and consistent policy line for the short term and for the long term.

There was the further fact that the party was somewhat incautiously jumping around with a number of political leaders. Biesheuvel, Zijlstra, Boersma, and Hannie van Leeuwen fell overboard, some of them in not very nice ways. At this moment there is no definite new political leader to be found among the Antirevolutionaries, unless it is Hans de Boer, and he has assumed a one-sided profile and lost any broad confidence.

How will the Antirevolutionaries behave after 27 September? In order at least to have a real nice celebration, prominent ARP'ers are doing everything to keep Goudzwaard and his people, united in the discussion club "Not by Bread Alone," within the ranks. Thus far the damage has remained limited to 80 ARP'ers of the second rank who have run off to cuddle up to the Evangelical Progressive People's Party. The non-conformist youth

organization Arjos is also being worked on. There will probably be an AR-like study group within the CDA, not really structured as an organization.

Neither party nor delegation will become a unified club soon. Members of the Second Chamber will be left with hangovers and will sulkily court publicity. Hooray for the dissident note. No cabinet, neither a second Van Agt cabinet nor a second Den Uyl cabinet nor a Lubbers cabinet, can confidently count on a unanimous CDA delegation.

Of course the uncertainty is not to be attributed entirely to the attitude of the ARP toward the rest, but that relationship and the ARP's fear of being snowed under do play an important part.

The Antirevolutionaries, who want to carry out God's word in politics, will declare themselves the leaven of the CDA. Just so the leaven does not turn out to be a fission fungus.

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